

TAMIL CULTURE

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North = Up, South = Down

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I

Attitude-analysis of "Northerners" to "Southerners", and *vice versa*, within numerous literate societies of big-nation areas, produced evidence that their mutual evaluations and reciprocal behaviour conforms, with the exception of exogamy, to the male-female antithesis (Ehrenfels, 1956/a : 8, 194 ; 1956/b : 9) which is a characteristic element in the formation of phratries, moieties and other composite parts in dual segmentations of various pre-literate small-group social systems (Radcliffe-Brown, 1951 : 21, Ehrenfels, 1957). Northerners play the role of the masculine, "upper" segment, Southerners that of the feminine, "lower", as far as popular value-judgments in a great number of otherwise different big nations, are concerned. Leaving open the question whether these judgments are imaginary or conform to facts, they produce, at any rate, mutual attitudes, comparable to those which characterize rival segments in primitive dual systems. Colloquial expressions, such as "up north" or "down south" give expression to this identification of *north* and *up*, or of *south* and *down*, even in countries, where the north consists of flat low-lands and the south is mountainous and should be referred to as the "up-country" ; so for instance in Germany or in peninsular India and Ceylon. This kind of phraseology is expressive of a well-grounded, though largely subconscious, linkage of *north* with *on top*, and of *south* with *down below*.

I cannot offer an explanation for this convention in the speech of literate nations, though it has been suggested to conceive it as an adaptation to the cartographically indicated situation. (Bates, 1956). But the cartographic

arrangement in itself is also not grounded in any intrinsic, geographic or technical advantages. The opposite, or any other, distribution on the map could be, and actually has been, used, in the beginning of Eurasafrican geographic traditions, (Fordham, 1921 : 40) as we shall note later.

II

In a world-wide distributed system of moieties, phratries and other forms of segmented societies, sky and earth are conceived as the upper and lower parts of one unit, and again identified with the *male* — *female* antithesis, in a divine pair, or a world — father — mother. Baumann recently summarized the wide distribution of these mythologies (1955 : 137, 316, 325 ff.). Further elaborating this dichotomy, he quotes Roeder (1939 : 97) for anthropomorphic world-pictures, showing, in the right upper part, a concentration of male elements and, in the left lower part, that of female ones (Baumann 1955 : 138), and again Tessmann (1928) for beliefs, allocating male magic power up in the head and female magic forces down in the sex organs or in menstrual blood (Baumann, 1955 : 349). A list, quoted by Baumann (1955 : 139) from Duyvendak (1940 : 94, ff.) contains frequent mythological equations of *male-female* with *up-down*, *in front-at back* and with *east-west*. There is no reference in this list from Indonesia, to *north-south* directly, but the mythological equation of north with east, and of west with south, is widespread (Ehrenfels, 1956/c, FN13) and again stressed by Baumann's (1955 : 321) quotation of Nadel's (1947) observation among the Nuba. Duyvendak's list, therefore, contains a double reference to the equation *male-up* and *female-down*: firstly this equation in itself and then through the identification of male with east, which is again mythologically equivalent to north, and of female with west, — mythologically equated with south.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the geographical, linguistic and mythological identifications of *up*

with *male* and *north*, or of *down* with *female* and *south*. These conventionalized identifications may have developed independently, or may have emerged as the result of diffusion from one of the discussed concepts to the other.

III

In an attempt to understand at first the cross-cultural recurrence of similar attitudes taken in otherwise dissimilar big-nation areas by Northerners towards Southerners, and *vice versa*, I considered the old climatological explanation, as it was, for instance, formulated by de Courcy—Ward (1918 : 281). This theory assumes a direct and simple link between cold climate and the mentality of Northerners, or between warm climate and that of Southerners. The latitudinal distribution of north-south-polarized national units along roughly each one meridian (Ehrenfels 1957), however shows that cultural north-south-polarization phenomena, like magnetic needles, place typically southern parts of each polarized unit to the south, even in cold, sub-arctic climates, (as, for instance, in Southern Scandinavia, South Scotland, and South Ireland). Likewise, northern polarized cultural sub-regions are found in tropical, equatorial climates, such as North Nigeria, Northern Morocco, North Sudan, North Ceylon, North Malabar, North Siam, etc.).

This situation led me to advance the hypothesis that every area in which the typical north-south-polarized culture situation can be observed, is a unit within which individuals and institutions enjoy a higher degree of mobility than beyond the frontiers of this area. This mobility will, therefore, tend to create a concentration of such individuals, groups and institutions in the northern part of each area, as are fit and willing to live under the *relatively* colder, rougher, and hence harder, circumstances of these sub-regions and *vice-versa*. The comparative seclusion of each national area would then be responsible for cultural north-south-polarization phenomena within these areas and

their magnetic needle—like latitudinal stringing—up along one meridian. (Ehrenfels, 1956/b : 9, 1957).

Two main arguments stand against this politico-climaticological and rationalistic interpretation of the phenomenon under discussion.

(1) It postulates large-scale north-south population movements, within each polarized area, which are comparatively rare as recorded facts of history. The northward migrations of French Huguenots and Austrian Protestants during the counter-reformation, or the southward trend among some Viking and Norman conquerors, British seafarers and later European painters and literati, may be quoted in this connection. But the continuous mass-movement within each polarized area, though it may have taken place continuously and unrecorded by history, can hardly be proved, — unless a world-wide machinery of discovering past family histories over several hundred years could be organized over the entire northern hemisphere.

(2) The second argument against my interpretation of north-south-polarization is of a mythologically less secure nature. Yet it will carry weight with most anthropological students of mythology.

The mythological identification of *up* with *male* (and thus indirectly with *north*, though in mythology often also with *east*) and *down* with *female* (or *south* and *west* respectively) in exogamous dual systems is so strikingly similar to the same process in the north-south-polarization phenomenon, of literate big-nation areas, that complete dissociation of the two sets of ideas seems hardly feasible. Yet the *up-and-down*-identifications of exogamous moieties in dual systems cannot possibly be explained by internal migrations,—much less by adaptation of each segment to relatively different climates, as in the case of *north-south*-polarization, because these groups are too small.

The mythologically observed identification elements: *male* — *upper* (*in front*) — *sky* — *sun* — *east* (or *north*), and *female*—*lower* — (*at the back*) — *earth* — *moon* — *west* (or *south*) cannot be explained in terms of climatological or any other experimentally observed phenomena. Two possible explanations may seem plausible enough in some, but not all cultures where they occur. These would be (a) stressed male superiority in some social systems and (b) a generalization of conventionalized body postures *in coitu*. However, the frequent occurrences of male-up, female-down identification also in matrilineal societies, such as for instance Iroquois (Baumann, 1955 : 323) and Khasi (Ehrenfels 1950 : 29) does not fit well in the first argument, namely stressed social subjection of the female element in society. The second argument, based on the assumption that conventionalized body-postures *in coitu* were responsible for these equations, forgets that conventional postures during sex-acts do not always coincide with a male-up, female-down position and hardly conform to the *male-in front* or *female-at the back* equation, which Baumann (1955 : 135) quotes after Duyvendak (1940 : 94).

IV

Mythological identifications of *up* with *male* and *north* (or *east*), and *down* with *female*, *south* (or *west*) are so widespread a phenomenon that their historic interconnection with concepts of literate societies, especially cartography, seems possible. However, not all maps conformed in the beginnings of cartographic traditions to the north-up, south-down equation. The Encyclopaedia Britannica shows us that Ptolomy's map (150) did, whilst Isidor of Sevilla's (630) and Herford's (1280) place east up, west down, which may be interpreted as an expression of the east-north-identification to which we have already referred. But the map of Beatus (776) and that of Idrisi (1154) place south on top and north down at the lower margin of the chart.

This non-conformity emphasises all the more the predominant and, at any rate, later general coincidence of cartographical conventions in late literate civilizations with those prevailing in preliterate dual organizations, by proving the technical feasibility of the opposite arrangement, namely: south on top and north below. But does this observation suggest the probability, or even possibility of any direct link between pre-literate dual organizations and late literate cartography?

Such an assumption, unlikely in itself, seems to be further contradicted by Fordham's observation that not only "...Romans and Arabs drew maps with the south at the top", like a late German route map of 1501 (1921: 40), but that "only the Italian and Catalan navigators, *working with the compass* established a northern orientation for the chart" (1921: 41; my italics). Yet, there is one element, common to both: mythological world pictures and modern cartography. This is the symbolic significance which has been attributed to the top portion of maps, whether it be the east with a representation of Paradise, and a cross to indicate the "orientation" toward the Holy Sepulchre (Fordham 1921: 40), or any other direction. Our contemporary attribution of top qualities to the north seems, therefore, indeed grounded in mythological concepts.

The explanation of coincidence between two so widely separated sets of culture phenomena, as are phratries or moieties in dual organization, or mythological world-pictures on the one side, and modern cartography or north-south-polarization in comparatively recent big-nation areas, on the other, may be based on two different, though not entirely disconnected, sets of ideas.

Firstly: The identification of *male* with *up*, *east* and *north* which cannot be explained rationally, sociologically or by way of sexual analogies, but which, all the same,

is so widespread that either an almost prinitial diffusion, or a kind of Bastianian *elementar gedanken*, must here be assumed.

Secondly : With the spreading of literacy, uniform big nations emerged which began to occupy large areas. Since in such areas, northern sub-regions are climatically differentiated from southern ones, the process of internal migrations would have been eased by increased mobility within each national area, leading to concentration of "harder", more masculine types in the northern, and "softer", more feminine types in the southern sub-regions of each of the large big-nation areas.

A check-up of individual family-histories to ascertain the possibility of such internal polarization movements to have taken place, in each of these areas from the U.S.A. to China, and from Ceylon to Korea, is a practical impossibility. But another method of research in this sphere offers itself. This is the study of north-south polarization phenomena on the southern hemisphere. Particularly large national areas in the making would offer almost laboratory conditions for this kind of study. There, the harder types would tend to migrate towards the colder south and *vice versa*, thus producing a polarization pattern which reverses both : the familiar situation on the northern hemisphere and also the traditionally founded mythological equation of *male* with *north* and of *female* with *south*.

The other set of identifications, namely *male* with *up* and *female* with *down*, is on the other hand not likely to be changed on the southern hemisphere. A particular research aspect which may be suggested here, is a possible reversion of colloquial references to the north from *up* to *down* and to the south from *down* to *up*, in languages, spoken by immigrants into south-equatorial lands, from the northern hemisphere.

It may be expected that such studies, apart from clearing the intertwined strands of diffusion and parallel development in north-south attitudes, may also point to certain structural differences between societies on the southern and the northern hemispheres,—however much they may otherwise be influenced by the community of language, religion or political organization.

After this article has been written in 1957, the author pursued anthropological researches in East Africa, especially Tanganyika, south of the equator. There he found traces of converging aggressions towards the equator from both: North and South. Masai and other Nilo-Hamite cattle people have come "down" from Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan in the North and intruded into the area of Bantu-speaking agriculturists in the South. Some of these northern invaders permeated into Tanganyika just a little beyond the geographic line of the equator. On the other hand there were aggressive invasions on the southern hemisphere: the Wa-Zimba in the 17th century who crossed the Zambesi and reached Southern Tanganyika, even Mombasa, and again the Wa-Ngoni in the 19th century who invaded Nyasaland and Southern Tanganyika also from the South. These Zulu-speaking warriors pushed the large Yao-group of matrilineal cultivators from the Lake Nyasa area through the Ruvuma valley still further northwards as far as Lindi District (Ehrenfels, 1959).

Nearer the equator, in Morogoro District of Eastern Tanganyika, the composite Luguru tribe integrated various clan groups into one unit which had migrated from the South with others from the North (Ehrenfels, 1960).

In the recent history of southern Africa, the aggressively dominating role, played by the extreme South, complementary to the North on the northern hemisphere, is dramatically illustrated by the introduction of *apartheid* as official policy in the Union of South Africa. This extreme ideology extends its indirect influence even beyond the political borders to its northerly neighbours, nearer the equator, such as the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Racial discrimination for instance is more pronounced in Southern Rhodesia than in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

These observations go to show that a reversal of the north: south situation on the northern hemisphere into a congruent south: north situation on the southern hemisphere is here in the process of formation. The linkage is thus suggested, between cultural polarisation and climate which has been presented by the author of this paper, in the paras III, IV as well as elsewhere.

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Saiva Siddhanta as Religion and Philosophy *

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"A little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism," wrote Bacon, the British philosopher. He also added that depth in philosophy brings back our minds to religion, which suggests that in a sense philosophy fulfils itself in religion. Philosophy is mainly the fruit of intellectual effort. Religion is rooted in experience of the heart. Each supplements the other. This is clearly demonstrated in systems of Indian thought, in Vedānta particularly, where philosophy is largely the deepest spiritual experience discussed in retrospect. In India, philosophy never really dissociated itself from religion in the essential sense. This ought to be deemed its special strength, rather than any sign of weakness.

Saiva Siddhānta is an excellent example of what religion can do to preserve the freshness of philosophy, and of what philosophy can do to make religion universal. Saiva Siddhānta is both Samaya and Siddhānta. It is a profoundly religious approach to the fundamental problems of 'perennial philosophy'. The religion of Saiva Siddhānta is a religion of Love. Its philosophy is a philosophy of Realism. If there is to be a religion for the future it must be a religion of Love; and if there is to be a philosophy, it must be a philosophy which accepts the world of everyday experience as real, without abandoning the pursuit of the highest ideals. It must be a philosophy, which accepts the diversities of the world of Becoming as real, without losing sight of the essential and ultimate unity of Being—a philosophy in which Realism and Idealism, Monism and

* The article is a summary of a lecture delivered at the Saiva Siddhanta Conference, Trivandrum, 1959.

Pluralism are all aspects of Truth. Saiva Siddhānta is not only a blend of religion and philosophy, but a synthesis of a variety of philosophical conceptions on the one hand and a harmonization of fundamental religious beliefs on the other. It is Vedānta, but it is also Siddhānta. It recognises Veda as Pramāṇa, but seeks to establish its conclusions in the light of Āgama as well. That its conclusions claim to be beyond doubt, that they rest on the foundations of direct, personal experience, is brought out by the word 'Siddhānta' (Siddha plus Anta). If, as philosophy, it is a synthesis of various points of view, as religion, it is a practical and progressive system of spiritual discipline, which begins with the simplest rituals of worship and prayer, and without rejecting them, discovers a deeper meaning in them, and leads to the highest yoga securing the most immediate and intimate union between soul and God.

The religion of Saiva Siddhānta is universal in that it provides for the emancipation of all souls, at all stages of progress, by means of appropriate Dīkshas, into which the Ācāryas initiate the aspirants. The Ācāryas are spiritual preceptors, illumined souls, who have dedicated their lives for the uplift of the others. By virtue of the purity of their love and wisdom, the Ācāryas are themselves regarded as Siva in a diversity of manifestations, and revered as God. Having attained spiritual realization, they continue to work in the material world of men and things, guiding those that are on the path of spiritual progress. The guidance is given in appropriate measure and manner, to each according to his capacity and need. There is a gradation of aspirants, who have reached different mile-stones, as there is a gradation of mukta-śivas. The highest alone are one with Siva, the supreme. Yet, even they are not absolutely identical with Him. The state of Mokṣa is not one of identity. It is a state, in which 'Similar' that are distinct unite without annihilation. 'Paramam Sāmyam upaiti', says the Upanishad. The released soul attains the highest degree of parity with the Lord.

The four familiar kinds of Mukti are all recognised in Saiva Siddhānta, including Sāyujya, which is the highest and most intimate kind of experience. Kaivalya is not countenanced, for Mokṣa is bliss of union, and not of isolation. It is a union in whose ecstasy soul and God become indistinguishable. But it does not mean the extinction of either. They are one, and yet not absolutely one, in the union of “தாள்” and “தலை” we have the compound “தாடலை” which is neither a simple, single word nor two distinct words. This illustration is particularly apt, for it pointedly suggests that there can be no Mukti without total surrender of the self, and the act of surrender is symbolised by placing one’s head (தலை) at the blessed feet (தாள்) of the Supreme Lord. It further suggests that the grace of God is indispensable for the redemption of the soul. Surrender presupposes devotion, and releases the flood-gates of grace. This sums up the substance of Saiva Siddhānta as religion. It is a religion of love, through and through. If the soul’s love of God expresses itself as deep, selfless devotion, God’s limitless love for man descends on the soul as the unique redemptive power of grace. The Sivajñāna Bodham says that just as the eye cured of its blindness still needs the light of the sun to see, the soul freed from the ego-sense still needs the grace of God to consummate the act of redemption. The Siddhiyār says that the soul does not become omniscient or independent, even in release. It does acquire several powers and perfections, but it can never assume the five unique functions of the Supreme Lord, which are the special unshared prerogative of Siva.

The Supreme Lord is Siva,—Siva not in the sense that He is one of the traditional Trinity, but Sivam who is described in the Upanishads as the “Chaturtham”. God is person. Indeed He is *the Person* in the fullest and truest sense of the term. His personality is not a limitation or a condition of bondage, as it is in the case of man. God’s personality is a manifestation, not a mask. Through His

personality God's unique excellences shine forth. Man's personality is adventitious to him, and it is both a condition and a consequence of his Karma. Man enveloped in "malas", of which the "Ānava-mala" is the strongest, acquires an individuality, which reflects his personality. This is something, which he should get rid of, for association with it implies perpetuation of bondage. Divine personality is sat-cit-ānanda. It is neither Saguna nor Nir-guṇa, which does not mean that it is contentless. God is reality, the plenitude of Being and Perfection, not a category or a mere substance with attributes.

Saivism as religion is far from anthropomorphic. Its conceptions and delineations are richly symbolic, and have a direct, personal appeal to man. They cannot be put down either as naive pantheism or obscure transcendentalism. The fundamental categories of Saiva Siddhānta are philosophically sound, and they are developed in such a way that they provide a secure basis for a practical and popular religion. The philosophy carries conviction, while the faith is profoundly satisfying.

The attainment of God-head, which is the goal of religion, is also the realization of the Ātman, which is the essence of reality. The Ātman is the soul of souls and the self of all. It is the soul, for whom the entire universe is body, on whom the entire universe is dependent, by whom it is animated, controlled and directed from within. The Ātman is the inner principle of integration, which preserves the integrity or one-ness of the universe. This is very much like Viśiṣṭādvaita, but Saiva Siddhānta claims to go beyond all classification, and would reject all nomenclature. It would accept the description 'Advaita', provided Advaita carried with it no liability on account of its cognate conception of 'Māyā'. Advaita here does not imply either the unreality of the world, or the absolute, relationless nature of the ultimate. Advaita, for the Siddhāntin, stands for that unique, unparalleled relation, not only between man and God, but also between God and the entire world.

Advaita supplies the key to the mystery in the Mahāvākyas like "Tattvamasi" and "aham brahmāsmi". This does not, however, imply the denial of the reality of the world or of the soul. What is related, in an intimate and irrevocable manner, to the supremely Real can never cease to be. "The light of the stars is invisible in the radiance of the sun, but on that account the existence of the stars is not denied", argues the Siddhāntin. The Soul is "hidden" in the body; so is God immanent in the universe and in every particle of the universe. "பொன்கீன மறைத்தது பொன்னணி பூஷணம்" sings Tirumular. "The Gold is hidden in the golden ornament". "Hidden" does not imply any unreality. The ornament is not unreal, just because its substance is different. God is like the fragrance in the flower or the brilliance in the gem. The flower and the gem are not any the less real, although their value depends on what lies hidden in them. The world of matter and form needs to be sustained by the power of the immanent spirit. Its life flows from the Ātman within, and the Ātman is at once the source and the consummation of all life. The ultimate is the Supreme, and it is the origin as well as the goal of all Creation. Here, as in Viśiṣṭādvaita, philosophy merges into religion. The metaphysical Absolute of the philosopher becomes the personal God of theism. Thereby philosophy is rescued from unintelligible abstractions, and religion is saved from dogma. To love God or to be devoted to Him is to love and serve humanity. Through love of humanity one attains the love of God. This is the meaning of the symbolism of Dāsa, Satputra, Sakha etc. Through love and self-surrender is the soul purified, cleansed of all its malas. The Āṇava-mala, the dross of ego-sense, is the most difficult to shed. But it *must* be shed, if the soul is to be saved. The narrow, little, decrepit self must die in order that the divine self may be realised. "நான் கெட்டு சிவமானவா" declares the Saint. This is the meaning of "dying to live" in Saiva Siddhānta. The rooting out of all sense of ego is the alpha and the omega of spiritual evolution. When Āṇava is got rid of,

the bonds of Pāśa snap, the little self rises, to its full stature, and the soul emerges from Paśutvam to that state of blissful consummation described as "S'antam śivam - advaitam chaturtham - ātmā".

Mokṣa is both self-realisation and God-realisation. It is a positive state of Jñāna-Ānanda, in which Pati-jñāna brought about by Pāśa-Kṣaya is a unique experience of awakening into an illimitable life of all-enveloping bliss.

In this scheme of religious philosophy, moral discipline is not divorced from spiritual progress.* The lower values are not liquidated or annulled, but sublimated into the highest. The good life is inspired and informed by the highest Puruṣārtha. Morality gets enriched by relating itself to spirituality. All values are transvalued in the light of the universal immanence of God. Dharma is re-interpreted as the will of God. The whole world of sense and desire wears a new aspect. Every desire appears as an aspiration for the highest. All love is love of God. This transformation can take place only with the grace of God. அருள் and அன்பு are inseparable. அன்பு does not bear fruit without அருள். By God's grace is God-head attained. Hence the necessity for self-surrender. It is to the surrendered soul that God grants grace. The unsundered cling to the vain-glorious, little ego, and bar the doors and windows of the soul against the free inflow of grace.

Participial and Verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL.

§ 1. The scholars, working in Tamil and Dravidian philology, have so far rather indicated than explained the use of participial and verbal nouns in predicative function. This use has been found especially in Old Tamil. J. Bloch, in his *Structuré grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*, p. 45, says: "Il semble donc finalement que le système flexionnel de type pronominal se soit développè secondairement. Il succède à l'usage de noms verbaux capables de sujet pronominal au nominatif. On en trouve d'assez nombreux exemples dans la vieille poésie tamoule." True to this historical and comparative observation, he states, that the use of verbal nouns in predicative function had been once predominating in the ancient stages of evolution of all Dravidian languages. Beythan (*Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, p. 114) quotes examples showing that this use is still alive in Modern Tamil. However, none of the authors has, so far, described this use systematically, and various questions, arising in connection with this use, have still to be answered. Are the forms in question really verbal nouns or participial nouns? Are these verbal nouns true predicates capable of subjects, or are they determinate members, determined by the so-called subjects? Are the constructions in question actor-action constructions, or nominal sentences in the form of determinative compounds? What is the state of affairs in Modern Tamil?

In the following remarks I try to elucidate some of these questions upon the basis of syntactic investigation of the Early Old Tamil text *Narrinai*.¹

¹ *Narrinai* is a poetic text of 400 stanzas, one of the anthologies of *Ettuttokai* ("Eight anthologies"), written in Early Old Tamil (approximately 1.—3. Cent. A. D.).

§ 2. Let us say at the very beginning that the right interpretation of such constructions is of utmost importance for the analysis of the very nature of Tamil (and Dravidian) sentential structure. According to the answers on some of the questions arising in connection with the use of verbal nouns as predicates, the Tamil sentence may be regarded either as a Subject-Predicate construction, or as a cluster of determinants, or attributes, determining the verbal forms in predicative use. Let us consider a typical instance from *Narrinai* (further abbrev. NT, 53, 3) :

1. *evan̄kol tōḷi yannai kanniyatu ?* "What, o friend, did the mother think ?"

Fundamentally, this construction may be analysed in two ways :

1. As a nominal (or better non-verbal) sentence, where the predicate, expressed by verbal noun (*kanniyatu*) is, in ultimate analysis, the s u b j e c t and the original subject (*annai*) is attributive agent: What (*evan̄ kol*), o friend (*tōḷi*), thinking in past (*kanniyatu*) by (of) the mother (*annai*) ? When analysed in this way, the construction would of course not be that of Subject-Predicate, but of a determinative compound: *annai* (determinant) *kanniyatu* (determined member) "mother—of thinking in past"; "of the mother (Attr.)—thought (S)—what? (P)."

2. As a Subject-Predicate construction, where the verbal noun in predicative use is capable of substantival subject in the nominative; according to this interpretation, *annai* is not an attribute, but Subject in the subject-case, the whole sentence is not a non-verbal sentence, but a verbal sentence, where *kanniyatu* is a verbal predicate: What, o friend, the mother thinking in past? *annai*-Subject, *kanniyatu*-Predicate, expressed by verbal noun, capable of nominative Subject; "what (O) the mother (S) thought (P) ?"

3. Which interpretation is right? Can we find, in the textual material, examples, which would speak in favour of one or the other interpretation? The whole matter is even more complicated, since the form *kanniyatu* may be understood as a participial noun: the mother (is) that which thought.

The first interpretation is rather tempting. It is in accord with the "attributive" character of Dravidian languages. It indicates certain syntactic relations between the Dravidian and Altaic languages (cf. Valter Tauli, *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher* XXVIII, 3—4, 142: "predicate is the determinatum and the subject the determinate", and, ib. 144: "nominal determinant of the predicate in the function of agent became the so-called subject"). It is rather original. Upon the basis of such interpretation it might be possible to found a theory that the Dravidian sentence is actually a determinative compound, where the Predicate (at the end of the sentence) is the determinatum, and all that which precedes, including the Subject, are determinates of the Predicate. We might even write an equation

$$S : P = \text{determinans} : \text{determinatum}.$$

However, it is not right.

We may come across a number of examples in the ancient texts, where the Subject is expressed by a pronoun, showing easily, whether it stands in *casus rectus*, in the nominative case or in *casus obliquus*, in the attributive case. And we find, that the pronoun is in nominative, in the subjective case, which shows that it is real Subject, and not determinant of the Predicate expressed by verbal noun:

2. *ninakku*¹ *yān*² *maraittal*³ *yāvatu*⁴? NT 72,4 "What⁴ do I² hide³ from thee¹?""*

* Var. transl. "Why did I hide from thee?"

3. *nām¹ ceytato²nrillai³* (NT 27,5) "We¹ did² nothing³."

The subject, expressed by *yān* and *nām* respectively is in a true subject-case (in the nominative). It is not an attribute. Thus we see, that the relation between the noun (*annai* in NT 53, 3) or pronouns (in NT 72 and 27) and the verbal nouns (*kanniyatu*, *maraittal*, *ceytatu*) is not a determinative relation, but the predication. Thus we may agree fully with Bloch's statement, that the verbal nouns in predicative use are capable of nominal (substantival or pronominal) Subjects in the nominatives. Cf. also Bloch's instance *yān pīrakku* "I shall be born", or our examples *vinavuval yānē* (NT 173, 10) "I shall ask", *in¹yevan² moikō³ yān⁴* (NT 224, 8) "what³ I⁴ say³ now¹?" This interpretation is also confirmed by Modern Tamil examples given by Beythan (op. cit. l. c.) and by our examples *antak¹ kataiyai²... eḷutiyatu³ nān⁴ tānē⁵* "I myself ... wrote that story" (*Ānantavikaṭaṇ*, 23, 9, 1956, p. 80), lit. "That¹ story² (object in accus.)—past writing³—I⁴ myself⁵ (Subject)", and *atai¹yum² nān³ colla⁴ppōkīra⁵ṭillai⁶* "And² I³ am not⁶ going⁵ to say⁴ that¹ either²" (ib. p. 76), lit. "That¹ (object in accus.)—and² I³ to say⁴ going⁵ (Predicate, verbal noun)—is not⁶". The verbal forms in question are verbal nouns, not participial nouns, as will be shown later.²

§ 4. After these preliminary remarks we may say that the Predicate in Early Old Tamil was expressed—along with predicates in finite verbal forms and nominal predicates—by verbal and participial nouns.

a. *finite verbal forms* :

1. *yām...varukam* (88, 3) "We ... shall come".

2. *mīn keṭuva* (NT 16, 6) "Fish perish".

3. *varuvar¹ ... irantōre²* (ib. 18, 2 ... 10) "He that went away² ... will come¹". These verbal forms are

² Very important is also the absence of syntactic sandhi: were *annai* attribute, the initial plosive of the following word would be most probably geminated **annaik kanniyatu*, cf. *kutiraikkal* "the leg of the horse".

capable of expressing the categories of person, number, aspect and tense. The construction is that of Subject-Predicate, of actor-action.

b. *participial nouns*.

1. *annai*¹ ... *celk²enrōlē*³ (NT 53, 11) "The mother ... said : Let (ye) go. Liter. "The mother¹ ... Let (ye) go²—she who said³". We see : a nominal sentence.

2. *en*¹ *mukam*² *nōkkiyōlē*³ (NT 55, 9) "She looked at my face", lit. "(At) my face²—she who looked³", again : a nominal sentence.

3. *āyilai*¹ *varuvōl*² (NT 308, 3) "The woman with fair jewels will come", lit. "(The one who has) fair jewels¹—she who will come²". Again a nominal sentence.

Thus we see that, analysed ultimately, this Subject-Predicate construction may be regarded as a nominal sentence, not as an actor-action construction, where A (the Subject) (is) the one who acts (Predicate, expressed by participial noun). There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between this type of construction and that one, in which the Predicate is expressed by verbal noun. It is also seen from this analysis, that forms like *kanniyatu* or *eytatu* are not participial, but verbal nouns ; were they participial nouns, they would be in agreement with the Subject (*annai kanniyaval*, *kanniyōl* "the mother [is] she who thought", just like *annai... enrōlē* in NT 53, 11).

c. *verbal nouns* :

The verbal nouns, used in EOT in predicative function, are formed by the suffixes *-tu*, *-al*, *-vu*, *-ku*. Examples :

1. *Viyanpunattu... varukō* ? (NT 204, 2) "Shall (I) come to the large field ?"

2. *nin kūreyirun^{ku}* (ib. 204, 6) "(I) shall eat thy sharp teeth."

3. *yān ancuvalē* (ib. 229, 2) "I fear".

4. *pularvatu kol avan naṭpu ?* (ib. 72, 10) "Is perhaps his love fading away ?"

5. *anc¹il² ōti³ arum⁴paṭar⁵ uravē⁶* (ib. 105, 10) "(The lady with) beautiful¹ fine² hair³ is full of desire⁶, (having) difficult⁴ distress⁵".

6. *enru¹ .. ulakar² kūruvatu³ unṭu⁴* (ib. 327, 6) "thus ... the world says", lit. "thus¹ ... the world²-saying³-exists⁴", cf. Beythan, op. cit. l. c. *ikaravikuti āṇpālaiyum kāṭṭuvatu unṭu* "i-Suffix zeigt auch männliches Geschlecht", lit. "the suffix i also masculine gender (Object in accus.) indicating-exists". Cf. also our example *kōpālan¹ āccariya²ppaṭṭatu³ unṭu⁴* (*Ānantavikatan*, 26. 8. 1956, p.104) "Gopalan was surprised", lit. "Gopalan (S)¹ surprised-being², ³-exists⁴ (passive)".

I am well aware of the problems—especially those of terminological nature—arising in connection with this conception. It seems that we have, on the one hand, forms, formed by morphemes *-ku*, *-tal*, *-al*, *-kai*, *-mai* etc., and their allomorphs, which are not capable to express the tense-categories; these forms may be called true verbal nouns (in the narrower sense of the term); on the other hand, there are forms ending in *-tu*, formed from stems expressing tense-categories; we may call these forms "conjugated nouns"; however, syntactically, they have the same characteristics as verbal nouns; thus, for the sake of our investigation, they may also be called verbal nouns (in the broad sense). Important is that these forms in *-tu* are found as predicates having subjects in the *casus energēticus*.

It seems highly probable that previous to the origin and development of the verbal flexion of the pronominal type there existed a more ancient stage characterized by the use of verbal and "conjugated" nouns, and perhaps stems and roots as well, in predicate; it must have been a

system (if it was a system at all) of rather indeterminate forms, compound of bases plus different morphemes of verbal and conjugated nouns, only partly capable of expressing tense and person. Whether it was, in the proto-Tamil stage, a system, which later broke down, the fragments of which we may find still in Early Old Tamil texts side by side with the new developments of the regular verbal flexion, or whether it had never been a real system in full development, we are at present unable to determine.

The use of verbal nouns as predicates has many drawbacks: they are incapable of expressing the categories of person, number, tense and aspect. Thus they show a *primitive*³ stage of linguistic development, and that obviously has been the reason why they became largely non-productive in later evolution of Tamil. There was, however, one exception: the verbal noun in *-tu* (Old Tamil *kaṇṇiyatu*, Modern Tamil examples *eḷutiyatu*, *pōkiratu*), which was capable at least to express tense. Therefore only this verbal noun is still used in predicative function in Modern Tamil. It seems that in the course of evolution the verbal nouns in *-ku*, *-al*, *-vu* etc., have been suppressed, in predicates, by the secondary flexional system of the pro-nominal type.

CONCLUSION

Verbal nouns (and "conjugated nouns" as well as perhaps stems) and participial nouns are used, in Old Tamil, to express Predicate. Predicative participial nouns are in formal agreement with their Subjects, and such constructions may be ultimately analysed as nominal sentences.

³ The absence of indicators of tense, person and number seems to be, in this case, truly a feature of a more rudimental development. We must not forget the later development of highly complicated though highly regular conjugation of Middle Tamil and New Tamil verb. The case of Malayalam dropping the personal terminations of the verb and systematically simplifying the conjugation is something entirely different. It may be rather compared to the analytic tendency found even in standard Tamil speech of the modern period e.g. in the negative of verbs, and also to the developments of verbal flexion in most of the Tamil local dialects.

Predicative verbal nouns are true Predicates, capable of nominal Subjects in the subject-case, in casus rectus, in the nominative. Such constructions are not to be analysed as nominal sentences, they are not to be analysed as determinative compounds, but as Subject-Predicate constructions, as predications. The use of predicative verbal nouns reflects most probably an ancient and primitive stage of language-development. The first historical stage of the evolution of Tamil (Early Old Tamil Period) shows a fundamental difference between the determinative and predicative relations. This period shows a transitional stage, when the use of predicative verbal and participial nouns begins to be suppressed by a more developed and expressive use of flexional system of the pronominal type.⁴ In Modern Tamil this development has been fully accomplished, and the use of predicative verbal nouns has been limited to a single form (in *-tu*) more or less in colloquial language, whereas the use of participial nouns as Predicates has been fully dropped in contemporary common speech.⁵

⁴ According to the statistical investigation of *Narrinai*, the relation between Predicates expressed by finite verbal forms of pronominal type and those expressed by the infinite forms (i.e. verbal nouns, and participial nouns) is circa 5 : 2.

⁵ According to a personal information of a well-educated speaker of Tamil, a form like *ninkal enke utkaruvatu* ? "Where will you sit ?" is felt to be rather a finite verbal form, and is regarded as very colloquial. Participial nouns in predicative use may be still found in some very high modern prose in imitation of classical style of the Middle Ages.

On the Future Tense Base in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV.

Dr. R. Caldwell maintains that "most of the Dravidian tenses are formed from the participial forms of the verb".¹ Further he makes it clear that he means here the verbal participles but not the relative participles. It is true that in the next pages after a detailed study he is compelled to admit that there is a number of exceptions in which this forms are undoubtedly formed from the relative participle (e.g. natantanen naṭantavan etc.)

In regard of the future tense Dr. Caldwell has to make one more reservation stating that "the future is generally formed not from a future (verbal) participle, but by suffixing to the verbal theme some particle which is regarded, whatever its origin may have been, as a sign of future time, and adding to that particle the pronominal terminations".² On the next page Dr. Caldwell definitely says that "he is inclined to consider these signs of the future as originally nothing more than the formatives of verbal nouns"³ (of the type of arivu, paṭippu, etc.). This explanation of the suffix of the future tense, as well as the explanation of the structure of the whole form, has survived till the present day at the tacit consent of the majority of students of the Tamil language. This is proved by the fact of the publication by Dr. K. Zvelebil of an article, in which this formula of Dr. Caldwell's is repeated, and the forms like arivēn "I shall know", paṭippen "I shall learn" are analysed as arivu "knowledge" + ēn, paṭippu "learning" + ēn, etc.⁴

¹ R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, 3rd edn., London, 1913, p. 486.

² *Ibid.*, p. 513.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁴ K. ZVELEBIL, *A Note on Tamil Syntax*, "Tamil Culture", Vol. V. 1956, N. I., p. 72.

Meanwhile, there are some reasons to think that this finite forms of the future tense could not have been formed in this way by affixing pronominal terminations to verbal derivatives. Thus, Dr. Caldwell himself states that "verbal nouns are carefully to be distinguished from verbal derivatives or substantives derived from verbs. The latter, though derived from verbs, are used merely as nouns".⁵ Verbal derivatives formed from the verbal roots with the help of the suffix -vu, -pu, -ppu are nouns by their nature.⁶ The only feature, they have in common with verbs, is the root from which they are derived. But, this fact of derivation from the verbal roots does not impart any verbal characteristics to these words, as it does not in many other languages, e.g. in Sanskrit. These derivatives have no verbal nature, e.g., they cannot have a direct object or a subject in the nominative case. In this respect the words as arivu, paṭippu do not differ from other nouns.

On the contrary, in the forms ariven, paṭippēn, etc., such verbal features as capability of having a subject in the nominative case or a direct object (for the transitive verbs) are expressed very definitely (cf. en arivu, ataṇ arivu and nān arivēn, atai arivēn).

According to Dr. Caldwell's scheme, a noun destitute of any verbal features receives them together with the pronominal suffixes. Numerous examples show, however, that it does not take place in reality. The words aṭi "foot", tēvar "god", ūr "village" and many others do not receive any characteristics when pronominal terminations are suffixed to them : aṭiyēn, tēvarir, ūrār, etc.

But it is clear even without such a comparison that the verbal nature of a word cannot arise as a result of juxtaposition of two nominal elements void of any verbal traits. Affixation of some pronominal suffix cannot turn a noun into a verb, cannot impart verbal nature to a noun.

⁵ R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar*, p. 542.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

It is evident that in such forms as arivēn "I shall know" or paṭippēn "I shall learn" the nature of the verb is connected not with the pronominal terminations, but with the bases of the verbs. These bases cannot coincide, however, with the nouns arivu "knowledge", paṭippu "learning" since the latter, in contradistinction to the verbal bases, have no verbal value.

II

Participial nouns of the past and present tenses are formed from the corresponding relative participles with the help of pronominal suffixes -an, aḷ, -tu, -ar, -ai. In order to prevent the hiatus between the -a of the participle and the vowel of the pronominal suffix, the consonant -v- is incorporated between them. Thus, from the root cey- "to do" the following participial nouns are formed in the past and present tenses :—

<u>ceytavan</u> "he who did"	<u>ceykiravan</u> "he who does"
<u>ceytavaḷ</u> "she who did"	<u>ceykiravaḷ</u> "she who does"
<u>ceytatu</u> "that which did"	<u>ceykiratu</u> "that which does"
<u>ceytavar</u> "they (masc. and fem.) who did"	<u>ceykiravar</u> "they (masc. and fem.) who do"
<u>ceytavai</u> "they (neut.) who did"	<u>ceykinravai</u> "they (neut.) who do"

In the future tense the participial nouns are formed not from the relative participle of the future tense in -um, but from the same base as the finite forms. The only difference here is that in the weak verbs the tense-marker is not -v-, but -p-, as in the middle verbs. Cf.

<u>ceypavan</u> "he who will do"	<u>ceyvān</u> "he will do"
<u>ceypavaḷ</u> "she who will do"	<u>ceyvāḷ</u> "she will do"

(exception :

ceyvatu "that which will do"	ceyyum "it will do")
ceypavar "they who will do"	ceyvār "they will do"
ceypavai "they which will do"	ceyyum "they will do".

It is clear that the participial nouns of the future tense are formed from the base which has little in common with the future relative participle in -um (e.g., ceyyum). But outside the Tamil language—in Malayalam and Kannaḍa—the relative participles of the future tense (correspondingly ceyva and geyva⁷) look just like the form from which the Tamil participial nouns are formed, except the fact that their -v- of the future tense does not turn into -p-.

The same form (i.e., ceyva) is to be found in Old Tamil, where it is used as the 3rd person plural in the neutral gender.⁸

The comparison of the Tamil relative participle of the future tense ceyyum "which will do" and the 3rd person (neut.) ceyyum "it (they) will do" proves that in the modern language the relative participle is used in the sense of a finite form (a similar phenomenon can be found in some cognate languages).

On the other hand, the comparison of the Tamil ceyva "they (neut.) will do" with the relative participles of the future tense in Malayalam (ceyva) and in Kannaḍa (geyva) points to the possibility of the origin of the Tamil ceyva in the same way (i.e., from the relative participle).

In other words, it is possible to assume that at the period when Tamil and Kannaḍa existed as a single lan-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

guage there should be a relative participle of the future tense (e.g., keyva⁹) which survived in Malayalam (ceyva) and Kannaḍa (geyva) and could be traced in Tamil ceyva "they will do" (by analogy with ceyyum "it (they) will do" from ceyyum "which will do").

Tamil participial nouns of the future tense are now formed from the base which once had been a participle of the future tense.

Conversion of -v- into -p- in the sign of the future tense of the weak verbs is caused by dissimilation of two v's, i.e., the future tense marker v and v which serves to prevent the hiatus between the vowel of the relative participle and that of the pronominal suffix, as in ceypavan > ceypa-v-an > *ceypa-v-an.

The fact that this -p- is brought into being by the process of dissimilation is proved by the forms of the neutral gender (like ceyvatu "that which will do") where there is no dissimilation, since the suffix -tu begins with a consonant (ceyvatu > ceyva-tu), and no hiatus can arise.

* In some instances the suffixes -an and -ar in the participial nouns are replaced by the suffixes -ōn and -ōr. For instance, paṭittōn "he who read" instead of paṭittavan, paṭittōr "they who read" instead of paṭittavar, perrōr "parents" ("those who received a child") instead of perravar, and so on.

Here -ava- becomes -ō- as in the words katiravan > katirōn "the sun", takappan > tavappan (colloq.) tōppan (brahm.) "father", or makan > mavan (colloq.) mō (Jaffna dialect)¹⁰ "son".

⁹ For Tamil cey- "to do" from key- see L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's "Ancient Dravidic surd k- and its modern derivatives", *The Educational Review*, Vol. XXXVII, Madras, 1931 and "Initial fricatives and affricates in Dravidian", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, 1933. Cf. also key- "to do" in Kodagu with a future-present participle keyuva.

¹⁰ *Sarasvati*, 1959, No. 6, p. 48.

In those cases when -ava- in the participial nouns of the future tense formed from the weak roots, turns into -ō- and one -v- disappears, dissimilation does not occur, and -v- in the historical relative participle does not change into -p-; e.g., ceyvōn "he who will do" from * ceyva-v-an, where -ava- changed into -ō-.

III

Tamil finite forms are constructed on the same pattern. The only difference is that the final -a of the relative participle is dropped before the vowel of the pronominal suffix, or the both vowels merge together. This structure is particularly evident in Kannaḍa, where

māḍuvenu "I shall make" from māḍuva + enu,¹¹
 māḍuve "thou wilt make" from māḍuva + e,
 māḍuvanu "he will make" from māḍuva + anu,¹¹ etc.,
 are formed in complete accordance with the Sandhi rules.¹²

The difficulty of the explanation of the analagous Tamil forms lies in the fact that the Tamil grammars do not describe elision of vowels similar to that of Kannaḍa. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar points out, however, that this elision is not completely unknown in Tamil:

"A few cases of optional elision of the first of the meeting vowels are met with in literary usage, though not provided for by the grammars:—

...Final -a of optatives...:

śelg-eṇa — PN, 83; PP, II, 177.

olig-eṇa — 'S., Nād., 164.

kaḷaig-eṇa — M., Aḍ., 67."¹³

¹¹ Cf. H. SPENCER, *A Kanarese Grammar*, Mysore, 1950, p. 47.

¹² "...A final a, i, e, or a euphonic u suffers elision when it is followed by a vowel. ..." F. KITTEL, *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*, Mangalore, 1903, p. 171.

¹³ L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, "Dravidic Sandhi", *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 26, Bangalore, 1935-36, pp. 94-95.

And further he definitely writes that in "colloquial Tamil -a of the relative participle is lost in the familiar compounds *pirand-ām*., *pukk-ām*..."¹⁴ But it is the relative participle with the pronominal suffix that must have been among the most familiar of all possible compounds.¹⁵

Long vowels in the personal terminations could develop as compensation for elision of -a, by analogy with the forms of the past tense :

naṭanta-en < *naṭantanen*
naṭanten,

naṭanta-ām < *naṭantaam*
naṭantōm (through * *naṭanta-v-am*
 where -ava- became -ō-), etc.

Influence of emphasis could lead to the difference in quantity of the vowel in such forms like *ceyvār* "they will do" and *ceyvar*.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁵ In modern Tamil such instances are met with every now and then; e.g., *ennappa* from *enna appa*, *mutincappuram* from *mutinta appuram*, *enkappa* from *enka appa*, *ennatappa* from *enna ata appa*, *periyappa* from *periya appa*, *cinnanna* from *cinna anna*, *antantai* from *anta antai*, *antam* from *anta am*, *ententa* from *enta enta*.

¹⁶ Cf. *marumakan* "son-in-law" > **maruma-an* > *maruman* (colloq.) and *periya appa* > *periyappa*.

Ancient Tamil Music

K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI

The pioneer who searched for ancient Tamil music in the dark corridors of antiquity was Rao Sahib M. Abraham Pandithar of K. M. Hall, Tanjore. He is no longer with us, but the torch he held up in those regions still shines and guides many a seeker after the truth. His work *Karnamritha Sagaram* stands as a monument of indefatigable work, unique in the array of materials he has culled out and the profusion of arguments he has advanced to substantiate his theory of 24 srutis. He has established a reputation as great as that of Bharatha Muni, and his *Karnamritha Sagaram* is as important as the *Nattya Sastra* of the Northern Sage. *Nattya Sastra* deals with music, dance and language and so does *Karnamritha Sagaram*.

Research in Music has made great progress from where Abraham Pandithar left it and it tends to prove and confirm most of the theories which Abraham Pandithar formulated. In the First Book of *Karnamritha Sagaram*, part I, chapter IV he states :—

“Noble readers ! If we want to understand clearly the subtlety and antiquity of Indian Music, we would do well to make a few observations on the Tamil language which includes within itself poetry, music and drama. The period of the origin of Indian Music is as ancient as the period of the Tamil language and the sweetness of Indian Music is the sweetness of the language itself. Just as the language is unmixed and unaffected by other languages, so also the music of South India is perfect in itself having special rules of its own without seeking the aid of other music.”

Here he has stressed with an intuitive insight the inter-relation between language and music, which modern research has taken up for investigation.

In 1953, in his work, 'The psycho-analysis of Artistic vision and hearing: An introduction to the theory of unconscious perception' Anton Ehrenzweig observed, "It is not unreasonable to speculate that speech and music have descended from a common origin in a primitive language, which was neither speaking nor singing, but something of both. Later, this primeval language would have split into different branches; music would have retained the articulation mainly by pitch (scale) and duration (rhythm), while language chose the articulation mainly by tone colour, vowels and consonants."¹ The learned author would seem to be still in the region of surmises as his phrase 'would have' would indicate. But Dr. C. R. Sankaran and Dr. Chaitanya Deva, of Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, who carried on their further investigation into this inter-relationship, stress the fundamental identity of speech with music. This will be referred to in detail later.

To understand this inter-relationship between language and music, it is necessary to know what modern research has to say about the Tamil language. Regarding the phonetic or, more correctly, the phonemic analysis of the sounds of the Tamil language, in his monograph '*Phonemics of old Tamil*', this is what Dr. C. R. Sankaran of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, says:—

"Phonemes are significant classes of speech sounds in terms of which alone an organization of the descriptive study of speech sounds of any language is possible. We meet with the accurate description of phonemes of the old Tamil language, built apparently on the results of phonetic study in *Tolkappiam* which is the oldest descriptive Tamil

¹ Quoted by Dr. C. R. Sankaran and B. Chaitanya Deva in their article on Studies in Indian Music Scales 1—page 192 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute Vol. 18.

grammar. Such an emphasis on the pattern inherent in the sounds of the language of study, and to attempt to establish, on the basis of their occurrence and distribution the types of sounds which must have been significant in distinguishing the meaning of words is not met with even in the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini."

This will indicate that Tamil is a scientific language and it has been built up as a result of scientific study of the sounds of the language by the ancient Tamilians, independent of any other language. There are thirty sound-classes (phonemes) in Tamil, 12 vowels and 18 consonants. The twelve vowels represent the utmost limit to which the vowel sounds in any language can be divided as separate sounds, each having a separate existence of its own, in space and time. That this is the most accurate division of the vowel sounds has been confirmed by the investigations of W. N. Loche and R. M. S. Heffner² and referring to this Dr. C. R. Sankaran observes :—

"It is significant to find a striking agreement in this between Tolkappiar and the empirical findings of the modern investigator revealing thereby Tolkappiar's very rare insight."³

On these 12 vowel sounds depends the life of the language and they are called the 'life sounds' (உயிர்). Of them, seven,—அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஒ, ஓ are long vowels. Five out of the seven—அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஒ—have their corresponding short vowels அ, இ, உ, எ, ஓ and the rest two ஐ, (Ai), and ஓ (au), are changeless or indivisible. These five long vowels corresponding to these five short ones are not merely the elongated sounds in point of time but are separate sounds each having a separate existence. Thus according to modern research there are 12 primary or life sounds, each of which can be identified as having an existence separate from the other.

² Notes on the length of vowels (II) American Speech Vol. 15-1940—quoted by Dr. C. R. Sankaran, P. 79, Phonemics of old Tamil.

³ Phonemics of old Tamil, p. 12.

Let us now turn to the sounds in music. The primary musical sound rising up from the basic tone and ending in the highest pitch in an octave, from குரல் to தாரம் i.e., from Sa to Ni or C to B, has also been divided into 12 as in the case of the primary sounds of the language. There are seven swarams corresponding to the seven long vowels. Two of them, குரல் Kural, (Sa or C) and இளி Ili (Pa or G) are changeless and indivisible. They correspond to ஐ (ai) and ஒள (au) of the vowels. Each of the remaining five is divided into two and are called சுத்தம், பிரதி, sharp and flat, making up ten divisions which together with the two indivisible ones amount to the 12 divisions of the octave.

This remarkable coincidence not only in their number but also in their very nature which exists between sounds in the language and the sounds in the music is the special feature of the Tamil language. That this is not an accidental coincidence and that the inter-relationship between the sounds in the language and the sounds in music was well perceived, and that the division of the octave was based on this perception will be apparent from the following :—

Divakaram defines these seven long vowels as belonging to the seven swarams or notes of the music.

“ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஒ, ஒள எனும்

இவ்வேழ் எழுத்தும் ஏழிசைக் குரிய ”

Adiyarku Nallar, in his commentary on *Silappadigaram* when explaining the ancient Tamil modes, gives the following quotation which goes to prove that the ancient Tamil Music was actually based on the sounds of the language,

“உயிர், உயிர்மெய்யள வுரைத்த ஐம்பாலினும்

உடல் தமிழ் இயல் இசை யேழுடன் பகுத்து

.....தொண்டு மீண்ட பன்னீராயிரங்

கொண்டனர் இயற்றல் கொனைவல்லோர் கடனே.”⁴

⁴ Commentary relating to line 45—*Aranketru Kathai, Silappadikaram.*

All the old books on Tamil music are lost and it is not possible to find from which of the books this quotation was taken. Anyhow this goes a long way to prove that the sounds of the language formed the basis for music.

Tolkappiar, the great grammarian, refers to this inter-relationship when he says,

“அளபிறந் துயிர்த்தலும் ஒற்றிசை நீடலும்
உளவென மொழிப இசையொடு சிவணிய
நரம்பின் மறைய என்மனார் புலவர்.”⁵

This means that the vowels and consonants exceed the limits of sound prescribed for them in his grammar and the particulars regarding them are found in the Book of Secrets of the Strings tuned to music. According to Tholkappiar, the book relating to music referred to by him dealt with sounds of vowels and consonants. There is no reason why a book on music should deal with the sounds of the alphabet at all, unless it was perceived that there existed an inherent and substantial relationship between the sounds of the alphabet and they formed the basis of the music. *Tholkappiam* is a grammar of the language. There would have been no need for the grammar to mention this migration of the language sounds to music, unless these sounds were actually taken over and adopted by music.

It was referred to previously that this aspect of identity of speech with music was investigated in recent years in the Deccan College Research Institute and the following quotation from one of their bulletins deserves to be taken note of in this connection :—

“It is necessary to stress the fundamental and primitive identity of speech with music. This basic identity is marked in all our investigations from diverse points of view. (c.f. the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of B. Chaitanya Deva on the psychophysics of speech melody in Dravi-

⁵ தொல் : எழுத்து ; 33.

dian) like the octave relationship for instance where considerations revealed by wave form analysis of speech point towards the deep sometimes hidden (as it were) identity of speech with music.”⁶

Twentieth century thus stands at the threshold and has just gained a glimpse of the fundamental truth stated above. That, in those ancient times, this fundamental relationship was perceived in all its implications, that the region of surmises, inferences and experiments was left far behind and that a system of Tamil music was built up on the basis of this fundamental truth, are really marvellous.

The zodiac had 12 divisions which corresponded to the 12 divisions of the octave, and astronomy and astrology came in handy to explain the intervals in the octave and the effect which the swarams or the notes produced. The seven planets (excepting Ragu and Kethu) represented the seven swarams, and the 12 divisions were distributed among the seven planets which corresponded to the distribution of the 12 divisions of the octave among the seven swarams. Of the seven planets the Sun and Moon had each one of the divisions out of the 12, exactly as in the case of Sa(c) and Pa(g) in the musical octave and as in the case of the alphabet ஐ (ai) and ஔ (au). The remaining five planets had each two divisions as in the case of the remaining five swarams in music and the five long vowels of the language. In astrology these divisions were called houses belonging to the planets. Abraham Pandithar has explained this connection between music and astrology in detail in his book by means of charts and diagrams so well that it needs no further elucidation.

This coincidence between the divisions of the zodiac and the divisions of the octave served as the best medium to explain the musical scales which were placed on a geometrical and mathematical basis. The people could appre-

⁶ Foot note on p. 192 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol 18—Studies in Indian Musical Scales I: A. Vedic chant,

ciate these especially when astrology was much in vogue and well understood by the people. The earliest mention of the connection between astronomy and music is found in the Achiar Kuravai of *Silappadikaram*. No work of the Sangam period which refers to music refers to this connection. It is found that the Greek and the Chinese had also used astronomy to explain the attributes of music.

The division of the octave into 12 in Tamil Music should have been made long prior to the use of astronomy to explain the basis of musical divisions and scales. As stated by Abraham Pandithar, Tamil Music is as ancient as the language itself. To put it more correctly the division of its octave is as old as the division of the alphabet. This division of the octave into 12 was used by all the ancient nations of the world and is called the primordial division of the octave. Ilangovalikal had based the pentatone mode described by him in Achiar Kuravai on these 12 divisions of the octave and called it தொன்றுபடுமுறை, the primordial division.

Of all the existing books in Sanskrit the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata Muni is considered by scholars as the earliest. Some assign this to the 4th century A.D., some to the 2nd century B.C. and some others to the 5th century B.C. His work is based on the 22 divisions of the octave which came into use long after the use of the 12 divisions and not on those primordial divisions of 12. Nor was astronomy used to explain the scales or attributes of music as the ancient nations have done. In fact in no Sanskrit book about music this connection between astronomy and music is traceable.

To whatever century Bharata Muni may belong, there is ample internal evidence in his *Natya Sastra* that the music of South India was of a very high order even before the time of Bharata Muni. The following lines in the slokas 31 and 32 of chapter V of *Natya Sastra* speak to the highly developed nature of South Indian music :—

Romance of Two Tamil Words

P. JOSEPH.

Etymology is a tricky subject and unless one is extremely careful he is more than likely to let his imagination run riot and indulge in fanciful derivations of words. Hence the jibe that those who have no inclination for serious study dabble in derivations. One critic was brutally caustic. Derivation enthusiasts, he hit out, rush down the slippery Etymological slope, like the Gadarene swine, to their destruction. True this science, unlike a few others, does lend itself to abuse ; the fault, however, lies not with it but with those who use,—rather abuse,—it. As confirmatory evidence it is very valuable ; in fact sometimes it is the only evidence available. Within reasonable limits, therefore, it is quite legitimate. In any case it is highly fascinating.

Etymology bears ample proof of the borrowing of words from one language into another in the course of ages. One of the ways in which such borrowing takes place is through commerce. When a new object reaches a nation by way of trade, the name of the object too goes with it. Thus the Tamil word *akil*,—as shown in a previous paper¹,—went into the Hebrew language. An attempt is now made to indicate that two other words were borrowed into Hebrew in the same manner. Among the objects taken by King Solomon's famous Ophir expedition back to Judaea were those that were given the names *kophim* and *tukkim*. These are plural forms of *koph* and *tukki* and signify the ape and the peacock respectively.

The Hebrew word *koph* is connected with the Egyptian *gafi*, Greek *kepos*, Latin *cephus*,² German *affe* and English

¹ JOSEPH, "*Algummim*" or "*Almuggim*" of the Bible, *Tamil Culture*, VI, 2, pp. 133-138.

² SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People*, p. 270.

ape. According to Schroeder, *kepos* was a later importation into classical Greek, while the word in earlier usage was *pithakoi*, which had existed in one of the old dialects. This gives added point to the surmise that the appearance in the west of the Hebrew *koph* and allied words in the other languages was the result of commerce.

The writer of the Jewish sacred book, the Talmud, in an endeavour to trace the origin of the word *koph* linked it with the Hebrew *kaf*, meaning the palm of the hand, the hand. *Koph*, hence, was supposed to signify the animal that moves on its hand. *Koph* would literally mean one with a hand and from this meaning it is not easy to get to that of animal that moves on its hand without unduly stretching the interpretation, if not the imagination. The Talmudic writer's explanation, the suspicion arises, was in consequence of his previous knowledge of the derivation of the Greek word *pithakoi*, meaning an animal that walks on its hand (*koi* = hand). He was, no doubt, assisted in his liberal interpretation of *koph* by the fortuitous circumstance that *kaf* in Hebrew meant a hand. *Kaf*, however, and the Greek, *koi*, were not indigenous. They had apparently been borrowed from the Dravidian *kai* (hand),—a root with any number of derivatives in the different Dravidian languages. Anyway, the real significance of *koph*, it seems, has to be sought for in a way other than the one tried by the Jewish writer.

The protagonists of a Sanscrit origin have connected *koph* with *kapi*,³ which in Sanscrit is supposed to come from *kamp* (tremble). The reasoning is hardly sound. To see a monkey in something that trembles needs quite an extension of fancy. The inadequacy of the Sanscrit derivation can be realised from another example. The word *kapitha* (wood-apple) is derived from *kapi* + *stha* (the tree on which monkeys stand). Unconvincing indeed! *Kapitha* evidently has a connection with the Dravidian

³ MAX MULLER, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p 233.

kavitta or *kavinda* (to be bent, to be round), which originally comes from *kavi* (to bend). The tree, therefore, gets its name from the fruit that is round. This meaning of *kapi* is confirmed by that given to another Sanscrit word *kapithasya*⁴ (having a face like a wood-apple, i.e. a roundish face). These instances clearly show that the original meaning of *kapi* has been lost in Sanscrit; no wonder, since it was foreign to the language.

And so we arrive at a Dravidian explanation for *koph*. The monkey in Tamil and other Dravidian languages is called *kurangu* and *kapi*. They are derived from *kuru* and *kavi* respectively, which mean to bend. The monkey is the bent animal. *Kavi* is a prolific root in Tamil with a host of derivatives,—a fact that confirms its indigenous nature. The Tamil *kapi* has, no doubt, gone into the Hebrew as *koph*. The soundness of this explanation is highlighted by the non-cogency of the Talmudic and the highly imaginative character of the Sanscrit derivations.

As the word could never have gone to the west without the animal that bore the name, we may safely assume that monkeys were originally exported from India. But could the Hebrews not have got the word and the animal from Egypt? Though not impossible, it is not probable, since, for reasons which are beyond the scope of this paper, Africa's claim to having received the Ophir expedition is rather thin.

That the peacock is indigenous to India need not be argued at length. The bird, seen in large numbers in the dry tracts, abounds particularly in Gujerat, Cutch and Rajputana.⁵ Cuvier says, "It has long since been decided that India was the cradle of the peacock. It is in the countries of southern Asia and the vast archipelago of the eastern ocean that this bird appears to have fixed its dwelling and to live in a state of freedom. All travellers who

⁴ cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanscrit—English Dictionary*, s v

⁵ WATT, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 141.

have visited these countries make mention of these birds. Thevenot encountered great numbers of them in the province of Gujerat; Tavernier throughout all India; and Payrard in the neighbourhood of Calcutta."⁶ Sir William Jardine has it that, of the only two species of peacocks known, both of them inhabit the continent and the island of India.⁷

Indian peacocks were known to western nations from very ancient times. As commemorated in the Baveru Jataka,⁸ which embodies evidence of one of the earliest Indian commercial enterprises, the peacock was taken by Indian merchants to Sumer. While Baveru is equated with Babylon, several scholars think that the incident narrated refers to a trading transaction of a time much older than the days of the Babylonian empire, in fact of the time of its ancient compeer, Sumer.⁹ Later evidence¹⁰ can be gathered from the classical writers. While narrating the invasion of India by Alexander, Quintus Curtius mentions a dense forest, skirting the banks of the Ravi and abounding with trees, which were full of wild peacocks.¹¹ Aelian has several notices of peacocks and describes the Indian variety with a wealth of detail and colour,¹² emphasising its beauty, its great price, its arrival in Greece, and the wonder it aroused owing to its strangeness.¹²

If we compare the story contained in the Baveru Jataka with the description of Aelian, we can clearly see the close parallel. The Jataka speaks of a delighted crowd gathering round the new arrival and contrasts the excitement with that occasioned previously, when a crow had been taken to Sumer. The story also refers to the big

⁶ CUVIER, *Animal Kingdom*, VIII, p. 136

⁷ JARDINE, *Naturalists' Library*, XX, p. 147

⁸ COWELL, *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's former Births*, Bk IV, No. 339.

⁹ cf. FRANKE, *Jataka Mahabharata Parallelen*, WZKM, XX, pp. 317 ff

¹⁰ McCRINDLE, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 217.

¹¹ *Ibid*, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 139, 141, 146.

¹² *Ibid.*, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 362-363.

price paid for the novel bird, namely, a thousand pieces.¹³ Aelian, who lays special stress on the introduction of the peacock into Greece, says that the bird owned by Demos excited so much attention that people came even from Lacedaemon and Thessaly to see it. He mentions too that a special exhibition was arranged at the beginning of every month, when quite a high rate of admission was charged. He further adds that Alexander was so struck with admiration of the bird that he decreed the severest penalties to those who should kill it. Finally the narrator gives an idea of what the people paid for the bird; a pair cost a thousand drachmas (about 40 pounds).

The way the Sumerians and the Greeks behaved when they first saw the peacock was quite in keeping with its outlandish character. The awe-struck Sumerians asked the Indian merchants to give them the bird and get for themselves another on their return home. Aelian avers that the strange bird was introduced into Greece from Samos, where it was brought by the barbarians. To the ancient Greeks all who were beyond the pale of their heritage were barbarians, in much the same way as the Dravidians were to the Aryans in India.

The foreign nature of the peacock, evident in these descriptions, is confirmed by the name given to it in the western countries,—a name evidently borrowed from the land which was its original habitat. The peacock was called *tukki* in Hebrew,—in the Biblical passages which refer to the Ophir expedition,—*taus* in Armenian, *taus* in Persian, *tawas* in Arabic, *taos* in Greek, *pavo* in Latin and *phawo*¹⁴ in old High German. In Latin and High German the initial *t* of the Greek has been changed to *p* and the final *s* dropped, while the euphonic *v* has been brought in to bridge the gulf between two vowels. The Greek and Latin forms, it would appear, were taken from the Hebrew, *tukki*, whose origin can be sought for only in India. Two

¹³ COWELL, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

possible derivations have been given. According to Lassen, it comes from the Sanscrit *sikhi*, meaning one with a *sikhi* (tuft).¹⁵ The Sanscrit word denotes the *avis cristata*, a bird with a tuft. Another and a more plausible derivation has been suggested by Dr. Caldwell.¹⁶ *Tukki* is connected with *tokai*, signifying a tail. *Tokai* itself is derived from *tongu*, which means to hang like a tail, plumage, particularly a peacock's tail. *Tongu* in its turn comes from *toku* (to assemble, to aggregate, to come together); and in the case of a bird's tail the feathers come together to form it. *Tokai*, therefore, from meaning a tail has come to signify the tailed bird *par excellence*, viz., the *avis caudata*. This is a very natural explanation. It is true that the word *tokai*, although used especially for the tail of the peacock, does not stand in modern parlance for the peacock itself. But in the classics it did, and in times gone by it seems to have obtained in that sense even in ordinary conversation.

Max Muller saw the cogency of the derivation and yet at first thought that the word *tokai* itself was taken by the Tamils from the Sanscrit *sikhi* by changing *s* into *t* and the first *i* into *o*. This explanation is far-fetched in view of the thoroughly indigenous nature of the Tamil root *toku*, which is highly prolific. Finally Max Muller himself was convinced of Caldwell's view point.¹⁷ Even the word *mayura*, it is interesting to note, has not in Sanscrit a compelling derivation, which perhaps has to be sought for in the Tamil *mayil* (*mai* + *il* = the blue house), the blue bird. It may even be from *mayir* (feathers, tail); then the bird would get the name for the same reason as it got the name *tokai*. *Mayura* does not occur in the Rig Veda and this would clearly show that the Aryans got the word from their predecessors in the Punjab, since to the former it was the name of a foreign bird.¹⁸

¹⁵ LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumscunde*, I, p. 651.

¹⁶ CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 66.

¹⁷ MAX MULLER, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ cf. SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

The Hebrew word *tukki*,—it can confidently be concluded,—was carried with the bird by Solomon's mariners to Judaea. The Bible is not a descriptive narrative like the Jataka or the work of Aelian. If it were, we could certainly have read of the raptures of the Jews, when they first laid their eyes on the strange bird. And the narration would have run on lines parallel to those of the Jataka writer and Aelian ; all the more so, for the peacock is mentioned in the whole Bible only once, that is, in connection with the celebrated Ophir voyage.

The Sumerian contact was probably around 2500 B.C. After a lapse of almost as many years came the classical evidence. About half way, namely, in the 10th cen. B.C. stood the Biblical mention. The intervals of silence are indeed long ; but there may be other references, which have not yet come to light. Anyway, an item like the peacock was not likely to figure regularly in ancient lists of merchandise, since it was meant mainly to slake foreigners' curiosity. That curiosity led to their giving the rare import a peculiar name which had no logical explanation in any of their languages but only in that of the land of export.

The Vocabulary and Content of Tamil Primers and First Readers

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM.

An examination of a sampling of Tamil primers and first readers approved by Text-Book Committees and Departments of Education for use in Madras State, Ceylon and Malaya, showed the need which exists for scientific study and basic research concerning the compilation of Tamil Readers and Children's books.¹ The method employed by the primers which were examined is an adaptation of the "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods which were popular with English primers twenty-five to thirty years ago.² The primers which were studied as well as other primers and Infant books which the writer has had occasion to examine reveal little acquaintance with recent developments in the techniques of teaching reading, and this brief preliminary survey is intended to encourage students interested in educational research to pay attention to the problems of reading-readiness, and to the principles underlying compilation of primers and Children's books. The use of better methods and more suitable text-books will ensure a greater success in Tamil teaching and greater proficiency in the Language Arts so that the Tamil lesson in the Primary and post-Primary Classes becomes more rewarding both for the child and the teacher.

It is not possible to state in the absence of basic research concerning Tamil as to which of the methods prevalent in teaching reading in the West is the most suitable for teaching Tamil reading and constructing Tamil

¹ Two sets of Tamil primers have been examined. Six different primers by six different publishers are designated A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and another five different primers by different publishers are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

² See SCHONELL, FRED. J., *The Psychology and Teaching of Reading*, 3rd Ed., p. 44 ff., Oliver and Boyd, London, 1952.

Primers.³ The number of letters in the Tamil alphabet and the syllabic nature of the characters representing vowel-consonants may or may not render the "global" or "ideo-visual" method based on Gestalt psychology and the logical demands of Linguistics as successful for Tamil as it has been with European languages in which syllabic characters are not involved. It may be that the child if taught only the "global" method might be led to read from memory or by guess work than by the recognition of the visual patterns.⁴ But it does not require much experiment to prove that it is injurious to children's interests to teach the auditory and visual patterns of all the 247 Tamil characters in isolation to children before they may begin recognising them in words. Hence it is very doubtful if the direction in the *Madras Revised*

³ On different methods of Teaching Reading see the following :—

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION, *The Teaching of Reading*, Publication No. 113, Geneva ;

BROOM, M. E., et al., *Effective Reading Instruction in the Elementary School*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1942 ;

MENZEL, EMIL. W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944 ;

ZARRILI HUMBERTO and ABADIE SORIANO, *Metodologia de la lectura : su evolucion desde el deletreo hasta la globalizaci6n*, Montevideo, 1946 ;

GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, Paris, 1956

⁴ MENZEL, EMIL, W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, op. cit., p. 27.

"Since the letter is not the unit of vision and is no easier to recognize than an entire word of several letters, the teaching of reading in its first lessons should deal with words instead of letters. The sentence method, the word method, the story method, the Beacon method, all are built up on this assumption and have proved themselves vastly superior to the strictly phonetic method. Deciphering a word according to its sound symbols is a very complicated process which children learn only very slowly. The newer methods aim at making a certain number of word-pictures familiar to the beginner".

p. 28—

"Moreover, by emphasizing the individual letter, faulty habits of reading are inculcated. For fluent reading one needs a long eye-span ; that is, one must see entire words and phrases at once. Close attention to letters not only discourages this but builds up wrong habits which make the development of proper eye habits difficult".

Syllabus for the first standard is according to the latest and best results of reading research :

“The letters of the alphabet may be taught to pupils in the old traditional method beginning with “அ”. The pupils may be expected to read and write all the letters of the alphabet in the alphabetical order by the end of the year”.⁵

The results of recent reading research has not proved the unconditional superiority of any particular method used in European and American schools. The “phonic” and “alphabetic” methods proceed on the basis that the analytic study of words and their sounds confer mastery of the mechanics of reading. Applied to Tamil these methods would concentrate on “letter” or “character” recognition. The “word” and “sentence” methods in employing larger units of language than the letter and the syllable lay initial emphasis on meaning and meaningful understanding of what is read. Studies made of children learning by the two groups of methods show that the first group of methods develops attitudes and skills different from those developed by the second set of methods. Children taught by the “phonic” and “alphabetic” methods show ability in following the printed lines and recognising new words, but show no vital concern for the content, whereas those taught by the “word” and “sentence” methods show greater interest in content but develop more slowly word recognition. Where one group of methods was adhered to the exclusion of others, children have developed one group of attitudes and skills and often failed to develop others of equal importance. Hence it has been recommended that equal emphasis be placed from the beginning on both meaning and word-recognition, remembering that in the selection of methods consideration

⁵ Revised Syllabus for Standards I to VII, Government of Madras, 1957. See criticism of the directive in DANIEL, J., *Teaching Reading to Beginners* in the *Hindu*, Madras, of 9 February, 1958.

should be given to the special characteristics of the language concerned.⁶

The Tamil primers do not have the support of pre-reading books, supplementary readers or illustrated and graded readers and dictionaries like those provided, for example, in the complete *Pilot Reading Scheme* by Pat Davenport (E. J. Arnold & Son, Ltd., London). The first of a series of pre-reading books published in Tamil by E. Sendall (Associated Printers, Madras, no date) introduces letters in association with words familiar to children and is delightfully illustrated in colour but is defective for the same reason that these primers under examination are defective. E. Sendall's first series do not appear to have been continued.

⁶ See GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, op. cit., p. 75 ff; MENZEL, EMIL. W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, op. cit., p. 41 :

"Which method is best? As has been repeated several times, a good practical teaching method will utilize all of the more scientific approaches. The best practical method is a combination method.

Some people get their most vivid impressions through the eye, others through the ear, and some through the sense of touch or even through smell. Some are predominantly eye-minded, or ear-minded, and any generally-used method of teaching reading must be prepared to assist children in the way in which they can learn best. In the argument as to which method is best we must always remember that no method is 'best' for all. Some children learn much better through one method than another. For this reason also a combination of methods may be better fitted for general use than a method emphasizing more exclusively any one of the various psychological approaches just described".

p. 52 :—

"I would advocate for small children a method using phonics (most certainly) but predominantly the sentence and story method. But let it remain a debatable, or rather experimental, point as to how much of both methods should be introduced in the beginning stages. Let there be a great deal of careful experiment under expert scientific supervision before we try to settle that point. The fact remains that the teaching of reading in India suffers very severely from a lack of (i) attention to understanding of content, and (ii) the fostering of independent reading habits both for pleasure and for assignment reading in the class-room. For both purposes the 'larger unit' methods can help a great deal."

DEFECTIVE PRIMERS

The preoccupation of wanting to teach during the first twelve months of school both in isolation and in combination all the twelve vowels, the eighteen consonants, the 216 vowel consonants and the āyutam (ஃ) in all 247 symbols, dominates the methodology of these Tamil primers. The letters and characters are taught in the primers in alphabetic sequence, and words are progressively introduced in which the 247 symbols occur as initials, medials or finals according to the rules of Tamil phonetics. While the letters are introduced in alphabetic sequence, the words in which the letters occur are chosen almost solely for the purpose of introducing the letters and not for the easy recognition of their auditory and visual patterns or for their meaningful associations. Thus a great many words occur in the primers which generally do not occur in the hearing and speaking vocabulary of a child of 5+ or even 6+, and which are too abstruse and recondite for the child, and far removed from its interests, activities and experiences.

The preoccupation with letter or symbol recognition is again evident in the manner in which the letter to be learnt is printed in a different colour from the rest of the word or printed in a larger type-face than the rest of the word. Thus a dissimilarity of colour or type-face might occur at the beginning or in the middle or at the end of a word making the visual *gestalt* of the whole word very confusing to the child, but emphasising nevertheless recognition of a particular letter or syllable.

அ ணி ல்

ம ர ம்

THE VOWELS

The following table of words with vowel initials occurring in the first pages of the primers, shows that in introducing the child immediately to the visual and auditory

Primers	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
அ	அணில்	அன்னம்	அணில்	அணில்	அம்மா	அம்மா	அணில்
ஆ	ஆடு	ஆலமரம்	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு
இ	இலை	இரதம்	இலை	இலை	இலை	இலை	இலை
ஈ	ஈட்டி	ஈச்சமரம்	ஈ	ஈ	ஈ	ஈசன்	ஈ
உ	உறி	உரல்	உறி	உரல்	உரல்	உரல்	உரல்
ஊ	ஊசி	ஊஞ்சல்	ஊசி	ஊதல்	ஊஞ்சல்	ஊசி	ஊசி
எ	எலி	எள்	எலி	எலி	எலி	எருது	எலி
ஏ	ஏணி	ஏற்றம்	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி
ஐ	ஐயா	ஐவர்	ஐயா	ஐவர்	ஐந்து	ஐயா	ஐயர்
ஒ	ஒன்று	ஒப்பந்தம்	ஒட்டகம்	ஒட்டகம்	ஒன்று	ஒன்று	ஒட்டகம்
ஓ	ஓலை	ஓடம்	ஓலை	ஒணன்	ஓலை	ஒணன்	ஒணன்
ஔ	ஔவை	ஔடதம்	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை
ஐ	ஐ	ஐ	ஐ	ஐ	எஃகு	அஃது	—

patterns of *all* the vowels with no consideration as to their frequency in the spoken vocabulary of the pre-school child, the compilers have had to include words outside the range of children's interests, experiences and needs, and introduce symbols like ஒள and ஃ which are unnecessary at this stage of the child's language development.

It will be granted that these readers intended as they are for rural as well as urban children of different economic and cultural levels should use a vocabulary common at these levels. The words ஐவர் and ஒப்பந்தம் represent concepts beyond the primary class and the words ஈசன், ஓடம், ஒளவை, ஒளடதம், எஃகு, அஃது, are unusual words, all of which should be reserved for post-primary grades. It might be argued too that the above selections of words place the town child at a disadvantage since உறி, எருது, ஏற்றம், இரதம், ஈச்சமரம், may be removed from its experiences, just as ஒட்டகம், and அன்னம் may be unfamiliar to the rural child who has not seen them in a zoo. Thus it will be found that of a total of 91 words the inclusion of 24 of them is very much to be questioned. Other words in the primers which begin with vowels and which are beyond the experience and interests of most children are ஈஞ்சு, ஆயுள், இல்லம், ஒற்றர், ஓலம், கௌதாரி, யௌவனம், ரௌத்திரி, லௌகீகம், செளக்கியம். In the selection of words there is an exclusive use of nouns and an omission of verbs and verbal nouns expressing activities of childhood, e.g., words like இரு, ஓடு, ஆடு, ஏறி, ஏறு, should be used much more frequently.

Having introduced words in which vowels are initials, only some of the primers repeat in later pages the words introduced in the first pages. The repetition is again made for the purposes of letter recognition and not for word recognition. Thus

Primer A : அணில், அம்மி ; ஆடு, ஆணி; இலை, இறகு.

Primer F: அம்மா, அப்பா, அண்ணா; ஆடு, ஆமை, ஆணி;
இலை, இறகு, இரூல், இடையன்.

Repetition of words is very uncommon in the primers. They are far from the recommendation that a new useful word intended to broaden experience should be repeated at least fifteen or twenty times in a primer to provide adequate training in word recognition and prepare for mature reading.⁷ The following table shows the number of times words with vowel initials which have the highest frequency in children's oral vocabularies occur in some primers.⁸

Primers	1	2	3	4	5
அம்மா	3	2	4	1	0
அப்பா	2	1	3	1	0
அண்ணா	2	0	2	0	2
அக்கா	4	0	3	1	1
இலை	4	1	4	0	1
ஈ	3	1	1	0	0
உப்பு	2	0	0	0	0
ஊசி	4	1	3	0	1
ஊஞ்சல்	0	0	2	1	2
எடு	3	1	2	0	0
ஏறி	2	0	0	0	0

⁷ GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, op. cit., p. 134:

"Each new word should be used at least 15 times soon after it is introduced, and repeated more or less frequently throughout the primer to ensure its recognition at sight." See also WATTS, A. F., *The Language and Mental Development of Children*, p. 97 ff., George G. Harrap, London, 1950.

⁸ Word lists and vocabulary studies in other languages help to note the concepts with which children are familiar, in general e.g. SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, *Studies in Reading*, 2 vols., University of London Press, London, 1950; EATON, HELEN S., *Semantic Frequency List for English, French, German and Spanish*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1940; DOTRENS ROBERT-NASSARENTI DINO, *Vocabulaire fondamental du français*, 2^e éd., Delauchaux et Niestle, Neuchatel (Switzerland), 1952.

In the choice of words beginning with vowels or consonants, the compilers appear to be concerned only with the first letters of words but not with the remaining elements of the words, nor to what extent the remaining combinations of vowels and vowel-consonants are familiar to the child. Each vowel consonant in Tamil, as in other languages of Indian origin, is rendered by a sign different from the pure vowel sign. Thus the “இ” value in “கி” is expressed by the sign “ி”. Hence an eclectic approach seems necessary for Tamil teaching. Both the synthetic and analytic methods whereby the *gestalt* and the meaningful unit is taught together with the letter and syllabic components of the meaningful unit should be used. In the selection of words for primers one has not only to see that the words occur in the spoken vocabulary of the child and have meaningful association with its interests but also provide for the progressive introduction in the visual patterns of consonants and vowel-consonants so that the child will gradually pass from known symbols to unknown symbols. Thus the child who can read “அம்மா” may find it easier to learn to read “அப்பா” and “மரம்” as the next words, than “ஒற்றி” or “உழவன்” which contain no letters contained in “அம்மா”. A further point to be noted in the selection of words for reading is that the visual pattern of a word is made more distinct and distinguishable by using dissimilar components than similar components, that is, the words should differ in length and in the number and position of projecting letters. Thus a page of Primer 4 :

படம்

மடம்

வடம்

பட்டம்

வட்டம்

is likely to be more confusing to the child than a page with words of dissimilar components like

படம்
பு
கத்தி
தட்டம்
பதக்கம்
பழம்
நாய்
நாடு
தமிழ்நாடு

These recommendations made on the basis of experimental studies done for English should serve as a guide in devising the permutations and combinations of visual patterns of letters constituting the words of pre-readers, primers and other reading material for children.

The vocabulary burden in the primers of words beginning with vowels is extremely high. On an average each primer uses in all only about sixteen words for the study of the twelve vowels diphthongs and the āyutam. Two primers (A and F) which while introducing the vowels print ஒளவை with ஒள have printed the same name as அவ்வை when the consonant வ் is introduced in the primers. This inconsistency in the primers themselves is a warning regarding the inopportuneness of introducing characters like ஒள and ஃ in a primary reader.

THE VOWEL-CONSONANTS

After the vowels, the vowel-consonants are introduced in order as the first letters of words. The choice of the words, as will be seen from the examples which follow, has not been made from any principle of children's learning but merely for the convenience of the traditional consonantal order and letter-recognition. Most of the words

are without any emotional content for the child and are beyond the child's experiences and outside its spoken vocabulary. Some of them are words which are not common even in adult usage and a few of them are even obsolete. Thus

Primer A : படல், நீதி, பீட்டி, தீரன், தூது, நாகம், நெட்டி, கௌரி, கௌளி, சோழன்

Primer B : சரம், ரம்பம், கமலம், கம்மல், கட்டம், கன்னடம், தனம், மரகதம், இல்லம், வனம், சமயம், உப்பளம், பவளம், ஊக்கம், சங்கம், நகல், மங்களம், கழகம், அச்சம், நன்னூல், கூத்தர், கண்ணொளி, யௌவனம், லௌகீகம்.

Primer C : சைனியம், செளரம், ஞுண்டு, பௌத்தர், மௌலி, வேங்கை.

Primer D : சாதம், கௌதாரி, ஓளடதம், பௌர்ணமி, மௌலி.

Primer E : இதம், பௌர்ணமி, சேடி, தாழ், நெறி, நேமி, அஃது, எஃகு, அறம், தபசி, பதன், பரம், பசிதம், பதிதன்.

Primer F : வாச்சி, என்பு, ஊண், ஐது, மௌலி, கௌலி, விழுது, முத்தி, கந்து, கப்பு, தொடி.

Primer G : படல், மடல், மேளதாளம், வஞ்சம், பண், கார்.

Rhyming pairs of words have been also introduced without regard to their appropriateness for children's interests and experiences, and often with little or no meaningful association.

Primer A : பாடம், மாடம்; காகம், நாகம்; கத்தி, சக்தி; சிரி, விரி, திரி; ஈட்டி, பீட்டி; ஊது, தூது; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி; செட்டி, நெட்டி; தேய், மேய்; பொரி, சொறி.

Primer B : சரம், மரம், அரம், ரசம்; கலம், பலம்; கட்டம், சட்டம்; தரம், தனம்; தளம், களம், வளம், பவளம், உப்பளம்; தணல், மணல், சணல்; மண், எண், உண்; கால், சால், பால்; கோழி, சோழி.

Primer C : In pages 37 to 43, Primer C gives catalogues of words of one letter (பூ), two letters (சோறு), three letters (தம்பி), four letters (அண்ணன்). The size of the word cannot be correlated with interest and experience e.g. ஆ, கா, மோ, வீ.

Primer D : In pages 25 to 31, Primer D gives lists of words associated with such titles as குடும்பம், வீடு, உறுப்புக்கள், வகுப்பு, மரங்கள், பூக்கள், காய்கள், பழங்கள், பறவைகள், மிருகங்கள், ஊர்வன, வாகனங்கள், செய்கைகள்.

The influence of phonetic readers in English and of "the cat sat on a mat" pattern account for a great number of words used together in rhyming pairs without any other basis for their association in pairs than the rhyme. Thus :

Primer E : பஞ்சு, குஞ்சு; சட்டி, பெட்டி; நண்டு, சொண்டு; நாய், பாய்; தேர், வேர்; கொவ்வை, அவ்வை; கெடு, கேடு, கை; செடி, சேடி, சை; தெள், தேன், தை; நெறி, நேசி, நை; மெலி, மேடு, மை; பெண், பேறு, பை.

Primer F : சாக்கு, முக்கு; சங்கு, அங்கு, இங்கு, உங்கு; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி, வாச்சி; சட்டி, தட்டி, முட்டி; சொத்தி, பக்தி, முத்தி; கப்பு, அப்பு, ஆப்பு, உப்பு; வாய், காய், பாய், தாய்; கவ்வு, சவ்வு, தவ்வு; ஆள், வாள், தாள், நாள்; கொடி, நொடி, பொடி; ஒளவை, கௌவை; கௌரி, மௌலி etc.

Primer G : பலர், மலர்; மடம், படம்; படல், மடல்; பண், மண்; பணம், மணம்; பார், கார்; நட, கட; நரி, கரி; பட்டி, கட்டி; ஆடி, தாடி; தூண், பூண்; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி; பாய், வாய்; தேய், மேய்.

These words are catalogued in the primers in such a manner that the child is compelled to learn them not in association but in isolation. These words and jingles have been chosen for their consonantal composition, their

brevity and their phonic similarity. These pages are so much inert and dead material for the child. The listing of words according to their length and the number of letters of which they are composed shows again the pre-occupation with recognition of word-elements irrespective of the frequency of the given words in children's usage and their creative interest. The method is faulty in that it does not develop the eye-span, the area of visual focus demanded being too small for the development of a larger eye-span for regular reading.

The introduction of single words as the unit of reading practice in primary schools contributes more for meaningful reading than the alphabet, syllabic or phonic methods. Word recognition and study of the synthetic pattern should precede the break-up or analysis into the component syllabic or alphabetical patterns. This analytic process need not be undertaken by the primer. It should be left to the teacher to introduce gradually the break-up of the word into letters, and build new words out of the elements with which the children are familiar.

The pages which are reproduced here from two primers, one in use in India and another in use in Ceylon will show the practice of an inopportune analytic method and an overloading of letter recognition which find no justification in scientific reading methodology.

The artificiality and unrelatedness of the letters taught in isolation to the actual language needs of the child is again seen in the manner in which vowel consonants of the 'ஊ' series which never occur in words are introduced in the primers.

THE SENTENCES

From single words as the means of letter and word recognition exercises, the readers proceed to sentences. The sentences are brief and in order to be as brief as pos-

A page from Primer 'X' approved for use in Ceylon.



வெள வால்

வெள வால்

ஒள வை

கௌ தாரி

வெளி நீர்ப்பல்

பூனை
யா —
பா —
பே —

ஒள

கௌ

வெள

சௌ

கௌ

வெள

வெள

வெள

வெள

வெள

வெள

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வெள

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வெள

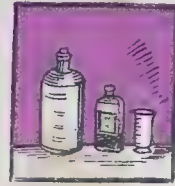
வெள

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வெள



ஒள டதம்

ஒள டதம்

பெளர்ணமி

மௌலி

சொல் ஆக்கல்

வ

உ

கு

க

டை

ஒளவைப் பாட்டி

ஒளடதம் சாப்பிடு

காடை, மௌதாரி

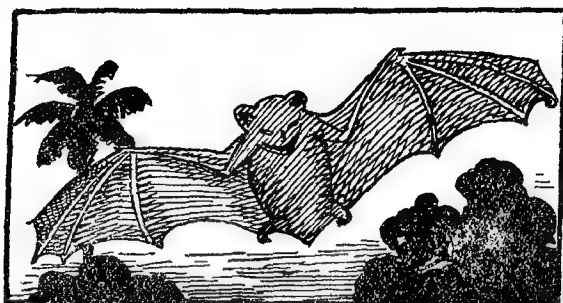
பெளர்ணமி தினம்

எழுத்து :

கௌ, சௌ, மௌ, யௌ, பெள, வெள

Note the use of colour, the type of illustrations, the crowded page, the heavy vocabulary burden and the letter emphasis.

Another page from a Primer approved in the Madras State.



வெளவால்

ஒள = ெள : க் + ஒள = கௌ

கௌளி	வெளவால்
மௌனம்	ஒளவை

வெளவால் மரத்தில் தொங்கும்.

வெளவால் பகலில் தூங்கும்.

வெளவால் பழம் தின்னும்.

மௌனச் சுவாமியார் நல்லவர்.

ஒளவை நீதி நூல்கள் எழுதினார்.

காலால் நடந்தே அவர் எங்கும் சுற்றினார்.

சிறுவர்க்குச் செந்தமிழ்ப் பாடல்களைப் பாடினார்.

ஒள

கௌ	ஞௌ	தௌ	மௌ	லௌ	ளௌ
ஙௌ	டௌ	நௌ	யௌ	வௌ	றௌ
சௌ	ணௌ	பௌ	ரௌ	ழௌ	னௌ

sible, in the first sentence lessons the readers use the second-person singular imperative which in Tamil is the shortest verbal form. Often the imperatives are not closely related to the life of the child and sometimes are far-fetched, abstruse, meaningless or pedantic. e.g. :—

Primer A : மீன்பிடி, தீனிதின்; பாக்குவெட்டு.

Primer B : நன்னூல் படி! (This at 4+!)

Primer C : ஆதி; ஓ கோ; கை நோ; பூ மோ; ஈ நீ; ஆகா (unalloyed gibberish); மிருது மயிர்; குழும் மூக்கு, பிளவு உதடு.

Primer D : ஒளடதம் சாப்பிடு.

Primer E : உண்டு வளர்; கல்வி கல், பதவி பெறு; பணம் தேடு; வீடு கட்டு; அறம் செய்; முத்தி பெறு; and later on மலம் கழி.

Primer F : கற்றோரை நாடு.

These orders are generally followed by bare statements of fact or moral and ethical maxims which again are not woven in with child interest and contain no story or personal element.

A	பூ மணம் தரும்	ஒட்டகம் பெரிய மிருகம்
	பசு பால் தரும்	ஒளவை படித்த கிழவி
	நாய் வீடு காக்கும்	கௌளி வீட்டில் இருக்கும்

B குறித்த வேளையில் சாப்பிடு
காலம் தவறுமை சால நன்று
சோம்பர் என்பவர் தேம்பித் திரிவர்
முத்தோர் சொல் வார்த்தை அமிர்தம்
தந்தையும் தாயும் பெற்றோர் ஆவர்
கௌதாரி ஒரு பறவை
வௌவால் பறக்கும் பிராணி
வெய்யில் வெப்பம் உள்ளது
வெட்டி வேர் மணம் உள்ளது

C அவன் வரான்; ஐயர் வரார் (verbal form above standard)

- F மாடு புல் மேயும் கால்களால் நடக்கிறோம்
 G கொம்பு குதிரைக்கு இல்லை பசு பால் தரும்
 ஒளவை படித்த கிழவி

The teaching of morals and good clean habits, through abstract instruction and an anxiety to inculcate ethical terms and norms is almost overdone in the primers. The compilers have not realised that at the age children use these primers, they learn ethical norms and ideas through concrete situations and through identifying them with particular actions and persons.

Primer B : In one single lesson on Mahatma Gandhi occur the following terms : பெரியார், உலகப் பெரியார்; நன்மை; துன்பம், உபதேசம், உண்மை, கட்டளை.

Out of thirty-seven words in the lesson thirty are words which are introduced in the primer for the first time.

Primer C : Contains lessons on the *Elephant, Coconut Tree, Peacock, Monkey, Parrot, Bear* which are factual data more pertinent to Nature study. If instead of bare uninteresting statements on the bear such as கரடி காட்டு மிருகம். உடம்பு முழுதும் மயிர்ச் சடை. நீண்ட முகம். வட்ட அடி. கொடிய நகங்கள். கோபம் கொள்ளும். If the bear had been related in a few sentences with a child's visit to the Zoo, the lesson would have answered better the test of suitability for children. In each of these later lessons, more than 70% of the words are new words, and hardly repeated during the lesson. The vocabulary burden in each lesson is excessively heavy.

The personal and story elements are essential to successful lessons in primers and should replace the arid and inert statements of natural and biological phenomena which most of the lessons supply. Here is a lesson on "Our House" which may serve as an illustration of some of the norms to be observed in the compilation of lessons for primers.

எங்கள் வீடு

இது எங்கள் வீடு. இங்கே
 அப்பா இருக்கிறார். நானும்
 அப்பாவும் அம்மாவும்
 இங்கே இருக்கிறோம்.
 எங்கள் வீடு இது. எங்கள்
 வீட்டில் ஒரு நாய் இருக்
 கிறது. அது நல்ல நாய்.
 எங்கள் நாய் கடிக்காது.
 “வள்” “வள்” என்று குலைக்
 கும்.

In this short lesson which may be introduced with an illustration among the lessons of the latter half of a primer, the words used have a high frequency in the spoken vocabulary of a child. They are not two-syllable and three-syllable words strung together for similarity of sound. They are sufficiently of different visual pattern, and contain greater interest for the child than a mere catalogue of parts of a house. There is a personal and narrative element giving unity to the short lesson.

POETRY

Children have a keen sense of rhyme and of the magic and music of words, and hence every effort should be made to introduce them to simple and melodious poetry. The primers vary in the number of poems which they include and in the total number of lines.

Primer	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
No. of Poems	8	1	3	3	5	4	9

Some of the poems are popular nursery rhymes and action-songs and easy children's poetry from Barathi and Desigavinayagam Pillai. Some of the poems have been selected by two or more Readers as may be seen from the table on page 228. The nursery rhymes and action songs (அம்புலிமான், நிலா, கைவீசம்மா) are popularly recited to children, and hence, are suitable for inclusion in all primers. The Kazhagam poems என் தாய் and மழை have the moralising tone predominant in them, but I have heard young children reciting them to their parents, especially to their mothers who encourage their repetition. They may be included even if their vocabulary burden is high. The verses on the Dog, on the Cock, on the Cow and Calf by Desigavinayagam Pillai and the Child's song by Barathi are very apt

for primers since they introduce topics of interest and familiar scenes and contain personal elements related to their world of feelings, images and perceptions. The words are not remote to children and are emotive conveying vivid pictures. Thus Desigavinayagam Pillai's poem on the *Cow and Calf* is a good choice, and should be included in all primers.

தோட்டத்தில் மேயுது வெள்ளைப் பசு—அங்கே
துள்ளிக் குதிக்குது கன்றுக்குட்டி.
முத்தம் கொடுக்குது வெள்ளைப் பசு—மடி
முட்டிக் குடிக்குது கன்றுக் குட்டி.

And Bharathi's

சின்னஞ் சிறு குருவிபோலே—நீ
திரிந்து பறந்து வா பாப்பா
வன்னப் பறவைகளைக் கண்டு—நீ
மனதில் மகிழ்ச்சி கொள்ளு பாப்பா.

The verses in Primer F are 50% religious and contain too heavy a vocabulary burden with words entirely beyond the range of the child. For instance in எங்கள் தேவன் occurs the verse

பூதலத்தில் உள்ள பேர்க்கு
புண்ய நெறி காட்ட வந்தார்
மாதவத் தோரான பேர்க்கு
மாட்சி பேராணந்தம் தந்தார்

The words in bolder types are clearly beyond the range of children of 5+ for whom the primer is intended. Some of the selections in Primers A, E, G contain to an excessive degree the moralising and didactic element. Thus the ஆத்திசூடி with its most recondite phrases and concepts

இயல்வது கரவேல்
உடையது விளம்பேல்
ஐய மிட்டுண்
ஒளவியம் பேசேல்

has been included in these three primers, probably as a homage to past conventions of Tamil teaching which commenced with this acrostic didactic verse. The Madras syllabus prescribes 50 verses of the அத்திசூடி and 50 lines of songs, rhymes and lullabies for the first standard. This inclusion of அத்திசூடி is often defended on the ground that these children comprehend later as adults what they have learned in the first standard. No educational or psychological principle justifies inflicting so many verses of didactic poetry unintelligible to the child so that it may discover their meaning with relish about ten years later.⁹

Another acrostic found in Primer E contains words and concepts beyond the interests of the child.

எண்ணும் எழுத்தும் படித்திடுவோம்
 ஏவாமற் பணி செய்திடுவோம்
 ஐந்தும் இரண்டும் கற்றிடுவோம்
 அன்பாய்க் கூடி நடித்திடுவோம்
 ஒற்றுமையாக வாழ்ந்திடுவோம்
 ஒடிப் பாடி நடித்திடுவோம்
 ஒளவை பாடல் படித்திடுவோம்

The chief test to be used in the selection of poetry for children is the capacity of the poem to be used for pure enjoyment. On the other hand, the compilers of most Tamil readers seem to utilise poetry merely as a literary medium through which religion, morals, ethics, good manners, biography and vocabulary may be taught. This is a perversion of the poetry lesson.¹⁰

⁹ Revised Syllabus, op. cit., p. 5. The didactic burden is evident again in the poetry prescribed for Standard II: "Ulaganeethi"—10 stanzas of four lines each suitable for children; "Konrai-Vendan"—40 lines suitable to children; nursery rhymes and action songs—about sixty lines. The didactic verses form the major part of prescribed poetry.

¹⁰ See CUTFORTH, JOHN A., *English in the Primary School*, 2nd ed., Blackwells, Oxford, 1954; HERRICH, VIRGIL E. and JACOBS, LELAND B., *Children and the Language Arts*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1955.

News and Notes

TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGES

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education, stated that the threat of financial sanction did not enter into the proposal the Madras Government had made for the switch-over from English to Tamil as medium of instruction at college and university levels.

The Minister, while talking to Pressmen, explained the recent decision of the Government about the medium of instruction at the college level. He said that the scheme had the approval of both the Vice-Chancellors in this State. There was no question of any threat of financial sanctions for preventing the English medium being used. Even at present there were, he said, many recognised educational institutions which were not in receipt of financial aid. If it was the general policy that the Tamil medium should be adopted for the Bachelor of Arts degree courses, then those who wanted Government aid would have to fall in line with the general policy, he added.

The Minister observed that even now secondary schools had to follow a certain pattern in regard to the syllabus and curriculum. This did not mean that there was no other syllabus or curriculum equally effective. The fact that the Government did not give any grant to such institutions should not be regarded as threat of financial sanctions. The Minister pointed out that the policy already pursued in regard to secondary schools was at present being extended to college and university levels.

COMMITTEE MEETS IN COIMBATORE

The College Tamil Committee, constituted to advise the Government on the implementation of the introduction of the Tamil medium in the Pilot College (Government Arts College, Coimbatore) from June, 1960, and to plan the various preparatory measures to be undertaken, met in the P. S. G. College of Technology, Peelamedu. Mr. G. R. Damodaran, M.L.C., Principal, P. S. G. College of Technology, Chairman of the Committee, presided.

On the first day, the Chairman explained the Terms of Reference and the issues to be discussed in the G.O. relating to the adoption of Tamil medium. The problems to be tackled were pointed out by the Chairman.

On the second day, he submitted a draft report outlining the policy and the measures to be taken. The members of the Committee adopted the report.

The report suggested the procedures to be adopted in the collection of technical terminology, preparation of text books, selection of authors for writing those text books, appointment of suitable qualified staff for the Pilot College and the selection of the students.

As regards the technical terms, the Committee has decided to confine themselves, for the present, to those needed for covering the subjects proposed to be taught in Humanities for the B.A. degree course, namely, History, Economics, Politics, Geography and Psychology. The Tamil equivalents or transliterations adopted in the school text books, standard dictionaries, glossaries published by Government of Madras, and the terms used by *Kalaikathir*, the scientific journal of Coimbatore, and by *Kalaikalanjiam* of Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, will be accepted with suitable modifications, wherever necessary. In the absence of acceptable Tamil equivalents in these sources, the Committee would explore the possibility of discovering new terms. Wherever proper Tamil equivalents are not avail-

able, transliteration of the International terminology, as suggested in the G.O. will be attempted and no adaptation will be made which will transform the original beyond recognition.

Each member of the College Tamil Committee has been assigned a subject for the preparation of such terms and he has been authorised to employ qualified persons for carrying out this preparation.

A Publication Committee is to be constituted with a nominee of the University, a Professor of Tamil and a Professor teaching the subject to select the text books and to decide the author for the preparation of the text books. It was proposed by the Committee to invite talented authors through notification in the Press, inviting specimen translations or adaptations. To encourage the publication of original works, the Committee has recommended to Government to draw up a prize scheme and to award coveted prizes to the authors for their best books in the various subjects.

A time-schedule has been drawn up by the Committee to implement the policy of Tamil medium at various stages. The Committee has decided that the text books should be ready by April 15, 1960, and has recommended to Government to organise orientation courses for the teachers who are to be engaged in the Pilot College for instruction.

The Chairman of the Committee would be interviewing a few selected educationists for their suggestions to implement the Tamil medium. The Principal of the Government Arts College, Coimbatore, has been requested by the Committee to take necessary steps for the construction of buildings required for additional accommodation, to purchase necessary furniture, library, etc.

The Committee has co-opted Messrs. B. R. Krishnamurthi, Principal, P. S. G. Arts College, Peelamedu, and

M. Aramvalarthan, Principal, Rural Institute of Higher Education, S. R. K. Vidyalaya, Perianaickenpalayam.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL RESEARCH COUNCIL'S ADVICE

In reply to a question asked by Mr. K. Vinayakam in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education, said that the Tamil Development and Research Council had been constituted for the development of Tamil language in all its aspects. The Council would function continuously.

Answering supplementaries, Mr. Subramaniam explained that the first suggestion of the Council was that Tamil be introduced as the medium of instruction in the reorganised B.A. course and the Government had taken a decision to introduce it as a pilot project in one college from 1960-61. The Vice-Chancellors of the Madras and Annamalai Universities, who were members of the Council, had also been consulted and they had given their consent to the proposal.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL AS STATE LANGUAGE

The introduction of Tamil as the official language of the State was bound to work satisfactorily and it was proposed to be introduced in the Government offices gradually and in stages, said Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, replying to questions in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Subramaniam, answering two interpellations tabled by Messrs. T. Purushotham and V. V. Ramaswami, said that Tamil had been introduced as the language of correspondence with effect from January 14, 1958, in about 1,925 Government offices in the State. Regarding the other offices, it was proposed to take up the various Government departments in convenient batches, the order of prefer-

rence being based on the extent to which the general public, particularly the ryots in the villages, had to deal with these offices.

The Official Language Act Implementation Committee, the Minister said, had been asked to submit to Government, every quarter, reviews furnished by heads of departments on the working of the scheme, together with its comments and suggestions. Two of these quarterly reports had been received so far. From these reports, it was seen that the glossaries of administrative terms distributed to offices had reached them only a few months ago, and that, therefore, a detailed review was not possible till the glossaries had been put to use for some more time.

Answering a supplementary whether the actual working of the scheme (introduction of Tamil as the language of correspondence) had proved to be satisfactory so far, Mr. Subramaniam said that his own view was that it was bound to be satisfactory. The glossaries had just been distributed and the Government's intention was to extend it to other offices gradually.

In reply to criticisms that Tamil equivalents given in the glossary to certain English terms like the Collector, lorry, etc., were not easily understandable, Mr. Subramaniam said that certain English terms had become very familiar to them and it was the intention of the Government that they should be retained.

Replying to another interpellation tabled by Mr. V. V. Ramaswami, Mr. Subramaniam said that there was at present no proposal before the Government to encourage the translation of Tamil works into other languages and works in other languages into Tamil. But if specific requests for assistance for translations were received, the Government considered each such request on its merits.

—*The Hindu*

CHILDREN'S BOOKS IN TAMIL

The Madras Government have appointed a committee to be known as the "Committee for research and production of literature on adult and children's education" with Rev. Xavier S. Thaninayagam, Department of Education, University of Ceylon, as chairman to conduct research and to produce children's books and books for neo-literates in Tamil.

The other members of the committee are : Messrs. M. R. Perumal Mudaliar, Principal, Government Teachers' Collège Saidapet ; Aramvalarthan, Principal, Rural Higher Education Institute, Perianaickenpalayam, Coimbatore ; B. R. Krishnamurthy, Principal, P. S. G. Arts College, Peelamedu ; S. Vadivelu, Special Officer for Text Books and Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction ; and Al. Valliappa, author of children's books, Madras. The committee has been authorised to co-opt three additional members, if found necessary.

Mr. V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, will be the Secretary of the committee.

The Government Order announcing the constitution of the committee says that the question of co-ordinating and developing the activities of all agencies at present engaged in the production and publication of books for adults and children had been under the consideration of Government for some time. The matter came up before the Tamil Development and Research Council at its meeting held on April 8, 1959. It was agreed that there should be detailed research in adult and child psychology, taste, vocabulary, the subjects in which they are much interested, etc.

The Government Order adds that the committee mentioned above has been appointed "to advise the Govern-

ment on the implementation of this policy to conduct research and to plan various preparatory measures to be undertaken in order to produce children's books and books for neo-literates in Tamil".

The committee will be free to consult all persons whose advice and opinion in the matter will, in its opinion, be useful.

—*The Hindu*

SOUTHERN LANGUAGES TRUST

35 TAMIL BOOKS PUBLISHED

The Southern Languages Book Trust, Madras, celebrated the release of the 100th book to be published under its auspices—"A Day At The Beach", a work in Telugu for young children, at a pleasant function held at Woodlands, Mylapore.

Dr. S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Chairman of the Trust, and Vice-Chancellor of the Sri Venkateswara University, announcing future plans, said they aimed at publishing children's books, as also books for neo-literates, special books for villagers, and a series of books expounding modern science in a simple way.

Dr. Govindarajulu Naidu said that the books brought out by the Trust were not so many independent works, but actually comprised of 45 separate titles, some of which were published in all the languages, while others were published in one or two or three languages. He mentioned that Rajaji's fables or short stories in all the languages was a best-seller. Another good-seller were books of selections from Tamil classics. The Trust took pride in having brought together so many people, like authors, publishers, artists, and the like, into the business of turning out good books. Yet, in one direction, namely, the art of selling books, much leeway had to be made:

The Trust had received financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, which had also given it from time to time the assistance of several technical consultants. They now hoped to receive the assistance of the four State Governments in the South. The Trust was also seeking the assistance of the Union Government, the Chairman said.

The note issued by the Trust said that the first books appeared in 1957, and the books so far published were made up of 35 books in Tamil, 25 in Telugu, 19 in Kannada and 21 in Malayalam. The Trust had arranged for the publication of three books in Tamil with the assistance of UNESCO, and planned to arrange for the publication of another eight books in collaboration with the same organisation during the remaining part of this year.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL-RUSSIAN DICTIONARY

A Tamil-Russian dictionary is being prepared by the U.S.S.R. Publishing House of foreign and Soviet national dictionaries and will be published before the World Congress of Orientalists meets in the Soviet Union next year, according to a Tass release in New Delhi.

The dictionary would be followed by a Russian-Tamil dictionary, work on which has already begun in the editorial office of dictionaries of South-East Asian Languages, the Tass release said.

—*The Hindu*

SPEED DEMONSTRATION IN TAMIL TYPING

There was a High Speed Test Demonstration in Tamil Typewriting at the Government Central Tamil Typewriting Institute at Old Assembly Buildings, Government Estate, Madras. Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, presided over the function.

Mr. M. Anantanarayanan, I.C.S., who is the Member in charge of the Government Typists' Training Scheme, welcomed the Minister. Mr. V. Subramaniam, Chief Instructor of the Institute, said that a good number of the trainees had recorded a speed of over 50 words within three months and that of all the regional languages it would be possible to attain in Tamil typing a speed equivalent to that in English typewriting in course of time.

About 30 Government typists drawn from all the districts participated in the High Speed Test Demonstration including two lady typists.

The Minister appreciated the progress made by the trainees in a short time in Tamil typing. It was really an achievement, he said, that many of the trainees excelled the All-India record within three months.

—*The Hindu*

THE CENTENARY OF ABRAHAM PANDITHER OF TANJORE

The above centenary was celebrated at Tanjore on the 22nd and 23rd of August, 1959 with great enthusiasm by a committee headed by Dr. A. S. Thava Pandyan, the senior grandson of Pandither. On the 22nd of August there was a memorial service at St. Peter's Church at Tanjore. It was a choral service throughout in which the lyrics composed by Pandither were rendered to Carnatic music of a high order. It was impressive and inspiring. The sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hezekaiel who dealt with Pandither's career as a physician, agriculturalist and musical scholar and said that he used the fortune he acquired by medicine for the good of the humanity and for the welfare of the Indian church.

On the 23rd of August a public meeting was held in the morning as well as in the evening. In the morning session the honourable Mr. Justice V. Subrahmanyam of

the Madras High Court presided. He paid an eloquent tribute to the glorious achievement of Pandither rising from a humble position to one of name and fame. He said that he was an example of inspiration to the young generation of modern India. He emphasized how his faith in God supported him in all his difficulties and how God's grace blessed him.

The first speaker in the morning was Mr. R. Lakshmanan, the District Judge of Tanjore. He made a humorous speech and kept the audience rocking with laughter throughout. He spoke of Pandither as an example of industry in working his way up and of service of humanity irrespective of caste and creed. The next speaker was Venuganam Venugopal Naidu garu of Coimbatore, a great musical scholar in possession of many Tamil musical works alleged to be lost. He explained that originally the Sanskrit works expounded the theory of twenty-four 'Suruthies' based as they were on the twenty-four letters of 'Gayatrimantram', but subsequently the 'Bhakthas' dropped out two 'Suruthies' calculated to inspire feelings of 'Kama' namely, 'Antra Gantharam' and 'Nishadam' and confined themselves to twenty-two 'Suruthies'. On the other hand the secularists stuck to the original twenty-four Suruthies for a time until the practise and authority of Bhakthas prevailed over them too. That is how twenty-two Suruthies came to be mentioned in well known Sanskrit books. The last item in the morning was a paper on Abraham Pandither as a theologian and religious thinker by the Rev. A. Arul Thangiah of Madras who was unavoidably absent. It was read by a proxy. He expounded Pandither's views on the approach to Christianity from an Indian point of view so eloquently pleaded by him in his work called "Nan Marai Kattum Nanneri".

In the evening Mr. A. C. Paul Nadar presided. The first speaker was Mr. Devaneyya Pavanar of Annamalai University. He dealt at length on the service rendered by Pandither for the understanding of Tamil language bound

up with the origin of Carnatic music and the elucidation of music in the famous Tamil work, "Silappadikaram". The second item was a brilliant musical performance on Veena by Mrs. Gnana Selvam Thava Pandyan, a grand-daughter of Pandither. The next item was a charming and eloquent speech by Miss Tilakavathi Paul whose reminiscences of Pandither and character study of each and everyone of Pandither's ten children with their achievements thrilled the audience and kept it in spell-bound silence. It was followed by a short speech by Mr. Duraiappa Bagavather, a renowned musical scholar and son of the celebrated Panchapigesa Bagavather who taught fiddle to the daughters of Pandither namely Maragathavalli and Kanagavalli. He dwelt on Pandither as a conversationalist surrounded by a circle of learned men. He cited some of the profound sayings of Pandither to illustrate his wisdom.

The last but not the least item in the programme was a 'musical Kalakshebham' by Mr. Thana Pandyan, a son of Maragathavalli, on the glorious achievement of Pandither in the field of music. It was a deep biographical study in the light of his original compositions of lyrics and his contribution to the study of the origin and development of Carnatic music. The technique of his performance was highly appreciated by the professionals. The audience was kept spell-bound for nearly two hours. At the request of the audience after meals he entertained them to a fine flute kacheri lasting till late in the mid-night.

The celebration was brought to a close by a magnificent display of fireworks.

Messages of good wishes were received from more than three hundred persons including Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, the Governor of Madras, Bishop Jebaraj of Tirunelveli and Mr. T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, the Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University and many other scholars and musicians. The well known journals like *The Hindu* and *Kalki* paid well deserved tributes to Pandither.

Extracts from Letter

A British subscriber writes :—

I have been wanting to write to you for some time to thank you for TAMIL CULTURE, VII, 4, but have been prevented from doing so by one thing after another, the latest of them being a paper that can be read in ten minutes at our next Conference to be held at University College, Bangar.

As Dravidian Studies have received little or no consideration latterly, I thought I would do something about it on the principle “சிறு துரும்பும் பல்லுக்குத்த உதவும்” and wrote a simple paper on the *Mahabharata* in Tamil (tracing the history from the earliest times). *Villi Bharam* fascinates me more and more; also the sequel by Aranganatha Kavirayar, of which one hears so little nowadays.

But to revert to TAMIL CULTURE, VII, 4, Fr. David has, as usual, tackled his subject with much vigour, and I read his article with great interest. He will, I am sure, prove a worthy successor to Rev. Fr. Gnanaprakasam. “News and Notes” were, as usual, interesting, but I was sorry to find no mention made of Sivaji Ganesan under the Kattabomman celebration, for I am sure he has done as much, if not more, than Rajaji to arouse indignation in the people.

Volume VIII, No. 1 has now arrived, and it is by far the best number I have perused so far, every article being well worth publishing. Rev. Dr. Thani Nayagam has indeed good news to give us, and the Hon'ble the Minister is to be congratulated on the very strong Council he has brought into being. P. Joseph writes really beautifully about the “Dravidian of Spain”, whose portrait I am so glad to have.

The linguistic discussions I am not in a position to discuss the merits of, for I was brought up on our own grammarians, who supply us—at least so I feel—with all that we need to know of the structure of Tamil to interpret the classics, and that is our only concern and the concern of the vast majority of those who read and learn Tamil. As I view the scene from this great distance, I grieve to find the intrusion of Western ways into the printing of Tamil, with its gratuitous insult to the teachers of Tamil up and down the country, that boys of even Form VI cannot break up the simplest of *sandhis*. Is there no power in the land to arrest this dry rot? Surely in speech we do not stop to break up *sandhis*; and we of a former generation got on very well without the spoon-feeding that seems to be the order of the day, as though it represented the high watermark of sound pedagogy.

List of Books Received

ON COMPLIMENTARY AND EXCHANGE BASIS

during July/September 1959.

ANNALS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH : Vol. XV, 1958-'59, Part II.

ARCHIV ORIENTALNI : No. 27/1, 1959.

ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU : Anno XXVIII,
Jan.-June, 1959.

DIALECTS OF TAMIL I (Dr. Kamil Zvelebil).

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE : Tome CCXLVI, 1958 Fasc. Nos. 2 & 3.

L'ARCHEOLOGIE DU DELTA DU MEKONG : Vol. XLII.

ORIENT OCCIDENT : Vol. II, No. 4, August 1959.

PHILOSOPHY EAST AND WEST : Vol. VII, Nos. 3 & 4.

QUEST : July/September and October/December 1959.

RUMANIA REVIEW : No. 2/1959.

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Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஓ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஔ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

Hints re: articulation.

<i>Hard</i> ¹ (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?).... Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick).... dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
<i>Soft</i> (Nasal)	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears).... Retroflex- articulate with tip of tongue.
	ங	—	ng	(„ sing).... velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel).... palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?).... Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem).... dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter).... Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
<i>Medium</i> (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave).... Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?).... Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
<i>Auxiliary</i> ² (ஆய்தம்)	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl).... Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

(a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant*.

e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

(b) an *unaspirated but voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam

பஞ்சம் - „ panjam, not pancam,

(c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant*.

e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai

எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative—sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the *exact* pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

- (ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l-	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	த	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஊ a:	ஈ to the right of the consonant	கா					கூ			கூ			கூ						
இ i	ி to be joined at the top —right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ி to be joined at the top —right of consonant	கி																	
உ u	a semi-circle (◌), a vertical stroke (◌), or a loop (◌) to be joined to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	து	ங்	ஞ்	ண்	ந்	மு	ன	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழ்	ள
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ	கூ
ஏ e	஌ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஈ e:	஌ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ஐ to the left of the consonant	கை								கை			கை			கை			கை
ஓ o	ஔ to the left & ி to the right of the consonant	கொ					கூ			கூ			கூ						
ஔ o:	ஔ to the left & ி to the right	கொ					கூ			கூ			கூ						
ஔ au	ஔ to the left & ி to the right	கொ																	
ஔ pure consonants	A dot (·) on the top of the consonant	க																	

Note —(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.